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LONDON, NEW YORK, TORONTO

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FOREWORD

THIS book does not pretend to be the outcome of original research, and it is by no means complete. Yet the author hopes that it may in some measure fulfil its aim. This is to select some of the most important problems of to-day, and to explain, in outline but with clearness, how these have come to be. It is an attempt to help to create sound judgment and the historical outlook, and especially to give such knowledge of social and international affairs as will enable the student to become a more intelligent citizen of his own state and of the world. It is necessarily sketchy, but once his interest is aroused the student can apply the same methods to other questions, and search for fuller information on subjects only mentioned here. It is in this hope that the book is written.

Use of the Book.—The use of an atlas is presumed throughout, as well as some idea of the groundwork of English history. An effort has been made to provide questions to suit both the average and the more advanced students, but the latter can more easily find problems to answer for themselves. Every student is strongly advised to make, as he reads,

some kind of chart showing the different movements in their order chronologically, and to give some idea of what is meant, a chart will be found at the end of the book. No chart is so useful as the one the student makes for himself, and no solution of a problem is worth having unless it is the result of genuine thought.

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CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

WE are going to study history in a way which may be new to some who use this book, so that first of all we must understand the plan on which we are to work.

Some people think of history as the story of things that happened a long time ago, so long that it has nothing to do with the world to-day, or the things that interest them. This is partly true and partly a mistake. History is a story of things that have happened, a wonderful story far more thrilling than half of the books written about imaginary people, but it is more than this. It is the history of *our* world, *our* people, and it shows how, bit by bit, stumbling and blundering often, people who have lived and died helped to make this world the world it is to-day. Just as we appreciate a piece of wonderful craftsmanship all the more if we know something of its making and the laws it had to obey, so we cannot fully understand things as they are now without knowing how they came to their present condition. We cannot understand any other nation without knowing something of their aims and their struggles, things that make them what they are. We cannot be intelligent

citizens of our own country without looking at our government and institutions, and the problems that face us, in the light of history. And, above all, we cannot, dare not, try to make things better without knowing at least a little how they were constructed, or we may spoil the patient work of centuries in our ignorance. Changes are coming quickly now, and they are necessary, but whether they are made for the better or the worse depends largely on the existence of an understanding which is based on history.

Most people know some English history, but that is not enough to-day. We are a member of a world league, and we must study other peoples, again in the light of history; see how they influenced each other and us, and how in the end we are, and always have been, dependent on each other, helping or hindering all the time. So this book tries to show the general line of development of England and Europe, especially the development of men's ideas of world government, and of the management of the wealth of the nations, that we may face modern problems armed with new knowledge and the warnings of past failures.

To do this perfectly would need many lifetimes, so we can choose only what is necessary to show continuity, or special subjects that are connected more closely than most with questions we meet to-day. We can learn a little of the countries that have lately sprung into being; we can throw light on some problems, but not nearly on all. This book, for instance, does not touch on the history of Ireland—though it is very important—for it is too complicated to be explained fairly in such a small space. We have to

choose, and to keep the thread of history clearly revealed ; the rest can be done later on.

If this be the purpose of the book, why begin with Ancient Rome ? Because, though it fell centuries ago, it has affected the growth of Europe ; because we cannot intelligently begin either English or European history without referring to it. The marvel is that, considering her immense power, she has left so little trace of her existence. Think of the extent of her Empire, as it came to be in her later days. It stretched from the Atlantic in the West to the Euphrates in the East, from the Danube, Rhine and Main, to the Sahara, and after 40 A.D. it even included the British Isles. All these lands were under the rule of one emperor ; all were Romanised to the greatest extent of which they were capable, and some reached a very high level of civilisation.

Originally the citizenship of the Roman Empire was restricted to Romans and a few highly-privileged persons, but, as the Empire expanded, this policy was widened, and in the third century A.D. all free inhabitants of the Empire were made citizens. Among them there were class divisions, with the senators, whose dignity was hereditary, at the top of the scale, owning most of the soil, and hence most of the riches, of the Empire. Between them and the poor common people was a large class of all those who owned twenty-five acres, men who were responsible for all but the highest offices, and paid the greater part of the taxes. The taxes were farmed out to officials, who often out of greed increased the burdens of the people, appropriating to themselves the balance. The whole Empire was worked by a bureaucracy,

subordinate in each province to the governor, who, together with a general, ruled the land. The officials owned large estates, which centred round a villa, and were intensively cultivated, largely by slave labour. Certain of the larger towns were given as a privilege some measure of municipal self-government, but we know little about this, and it was not very general. In Britain, where the Romans ruled for four hundred years, there were only five towns so privileged. Of course the details of government would differ considerably with the type of country occupied. Britain was then a barbarous country, useful as a corn-growing land, and a necessity from the military point of view, but never anything else. The result was that in Britain at least it was more a military occupation than any real absorption into the Empire, such as took place in lands nearer Italy.

This shows us the fatal weakness of the Empire, which eventually led to her downfall. It did not rest upon a system of colonisation which would strengthen the hands of the home government when help was needed, but upon a career of conquest which meant a continual strain on the men and the energies of Rome. There was good work done in fulfilment of her task as a civilising power, but it was often very superficial, and it was always dependent upon Rome. The burden was too great to be borne for a long time, especially when a great deal depended on the capability of the hereditary emperors. We have an attempt at a solution in the division of the Empire, or, as they would have expressed it, of the functions of the one Emperor—an idea originated by Diocletian (284–305 A.D.).

One man again seized the throne after this, the Constantine who founded Constantinople and made Christianity the only legal religion; but after him there were two emperors together, one ruling from Rome and the other from Constantinople. By this time invasions of barbarians, tribes from the East, had weakened the Empire so much that the Roman army itself was in the fifth century largely made up of these men acting as hired soldiers. Many of these were Germans, who, while not coming from so far as the Goths and Vandals, shared in the general movement of migration. They soon felt the strength of their position in the army, and, deposing the Roman Emperor, obtained from the Emperor at Constantinople a grant of extensive lands in Italy. Naturally they became in practice independent, and established a rough kind of government amongst themselves. But they were not the greatest danger to the tottering Roman Empire. The Goths had been settled on the Danube by the Eastern Emperor, but becoming restless, they rose, ravaged the Balkans, invaded Italy, and in 410 A.D. sacked Rome itself. This for all practical purposes marks the fall of the Empire. There was still an Emperor at Constantinople, but after a noble but vain attempt to rout the barbarians, which took place in the sixth century, the Eastern Empire remained for some time comparatively powerless and isolated from the rest of Europe. The fortunes of this Empire we shall see later on. Meanwhile Europe was overrun by tribes of barbarians, succeeding and fighting each other, and carrying devastation everywhere. The Goths who attacked Rome were driven into Spain, the Vandals swept past

them to Africa, the Huns under Attila swept through Europe, to be defeated in the end by the Imperial forces. The Slavs settled in the Balkans, and the Bulgarians, a different race, by living among Slavs became Slavonic in their civilisation. The Lombards overran the north and centre of Italy, and, most important of all, the Franks conquered what is now France and part of Germany. We shall hear more of the Franks later.

We want to get some general idea of the barbarian invasions, and then to think of the fallen Empire, and of how much we owe to her, and how much to the barbarians. Of course we are descended from these or later tribes of barbarians, with a mixture of other blood, and it is easy to see that our Europe of to-day has sprung, though with many struggles and modifications, from the conditions they established. It is such a growth that the tree and the seeds from which it grew seem almost to have no connection, but it will be our task to trace the growth, to estimate the forces that have made it what it is, and to understand how to undertake any necessary pruning. And as we work, let us remember the vastness of the Roman Empire, the greatness of her fall, and the legacy she has left us. For she has bequeathed to the world the memory of a wonderful organisation and a code of laws which still are part of the foundation of our society. Our language is partly hers, and through her we learn the greatness and the beauty of the Greek states she had conquered. Rome has handed on to Europe and the world a great task and a great warning: the task, that of world government; the warning, that of over-reliance on military power and

an empire of conquest, even though the empire be excellently well-governed.

BOOKS

Any history of Europe,—e.g. A. J. Grant's *Outlines*, or Robinson's *History of Western Europe*.
Kipling's *Puck o' Pook's Hill*.

QUESTIONS

1. (a) What influence has the Roman Empire had upon Europe?
(b). From the nature of the Empire try to find out why it fell as it did, and why its influence has not been greater.
2. Find out in any history book what the Romans did in Britain, what sort of government they established, the motive of their conquest, and the results of it, making notes under each heading.
3. Read the first chapters of *Puck of Pook's Hill*, notice the picture they give, and compare it with your history books.

CHAPTER II

TEUTONIC TRIBAL LIFE

WE have heard about the fall of the Roman Empire before the barbarians ; now the most interesting thing to do is to find out what sort of life these barbarians lived. Naturally this is rather difficult, for they did not write books—they could not—but, fortunately, we have books written about them by Romans. Julius Cæsar, who made war against the tribes of Gaul and Germany, was his own reporter, and has left an account of his work and of the people whom he fought. More valuable still, a Roman historian wrote a whole book called *Germania*, at a later time when customs were more settled.

Germany, as we can picture it from these descriptions, was a land of villages, with a scanty population. Tacitus tells us, "It is well known that the nations of Germany have no cities, and that they do not even tolerate dwellings that are very close to each other. They live scattered and apart, just as a spring, a meadow, or a wood has attracted them." Round each simple house was an open space, and round the village was a belt of waste land, acting both as boundary and as defence.

The people who lived in these houses lived very

simple lives, and had primitive ideas. We have now for centuries been thinking in terms of our country; to-day we are learning to think internationally as well, and that is a big step onward. In the days of the Germans whom Tacitus described, men had only got the germ of these ideas; they cared for neither a nation nor a family of nations, but just for their own tribe, which was like an overgrown family. All the members of the tribe were kin to one another, having come originally from common ancestors. All knew of their common descent, and were proud of it, being willing to fight for their kin against anyone. In the family the father was absolute; in the tribe the fathers met together and formed a kind of council. "About minor matters the chiefs decide alone, about the more important the whole tribe. When the multitude think proper they sit down armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on these occasions the right of keeping order. Then the king or the chief, according to age, birth, distinction in war, or eloquence, is heard, more because he has influence to persuade than because he has power to command. If his sentiments displease them they reject them with murmurs; if they are satisfied, they brandish their spears." This is a description of a tribal meeting, and we can see how democratic was the government, all freemen taking equal part, the chiefs having influence because of their reputation, but no more than the one vote of every freeman. The tribes grew until they inhabited several villages, and only the more important business came before their general assemblies, but still the method of management remained, and democracy held the day.

As in the government, so in social life the freeman was the basis of society. He was the warrior and the farmer in a community that lived by fighting and farming; he was the responsible person on whom lay the duty of looking after the welfare of the tribe.

It was a meeting of freemen that judged offences and meted out punishment, the fine paid going generally to the wronged person or his relatives. It was the freemen who gave their decision for peace or war, and if for war, prepared to carry it through. They were keen warriors, for they fought side by side with their kinsfolk, and the greatest honour was given at this time to the bravest fighters, while a reputed coward lived a life not worth living, isolated and despised.

Naturally some came to be accepted as the best leaders, and from these sprang a class of nobles, who possessed social advantages. Very often a man of known courage would be surrounded by a band of young followers who swore to fight for him loyally, in return learning their business and becoming men. "The chief fights for victory; his vassals fight for their chief." And the greatest dishonour was for a member of such a band to fail to support his chief to the death if need be. At the same time the young man's position was voluntary and honourable, implying no subjection.

In the community there were others who did the menial work and much of the agriculture—the slaves. Some of these were taken in war, some were enslaved owing to debt or to gambling. The Germans were such gamblers that they often staked their own liberty,

and actually forfeited it if they lost the throw. Slaves were well treated, but the masters could punish them as much as they liked without fear of justice.

So we have a picture of a wild, free race of men, fighting, feasting and gambling, their religion, such as it was, a kind of nature-worship, the hard work done by slaves and women. Even the system of land holding was remarkably free and democratic. "Land proportioned to the number of inhabitants is occupied by the whole community in turn, and afterwards divided among them according to rank." So they changed their lands very often, and this was easy, for there was a wide expanse of plain. Each year they could till fresh fields, as the old ones became exhausted, and still there was enough for all ; there was no need to think of rotation of crops.

It was with this strong race that the Romans had come into contact, and it was probably a union of some of the German tribes that we find later called the Franks, while other tribes from the north of Germany came, as we know, to England, giving to Britain the name of the Angles' country.

This is not the place for a description of the conquest of Britain by the German tribes, but there are a few things we must recall briefly. First of all, the conquest began in the middle of the fifth century, shortly after the departure of the Romans had left the land defenceless. It took a hundred and fifty years to complete, and even then Wales and Cornwall were left to the Britons. It seems fairly certain, therefore, that though there was a good deal of fierce fighting and massacring of inhabitants at first, in the end the process would be less severe,

allowing the natives to survive as slaves or even to intermarry.

Judging by results, the conquest must have been also to a large extent a migration, and certainly the habits and institutions we have been describing were introduced into the new country. But there were several important changes made in these customs, and it is easy to see what they would be. Firstly, the leadership which was given to the best chiefs for the adventure was likely to become a permanent position of authority in the new land where wisdom and strength were needed every hour. So we have the king, who in Germany had been often a figure-head, a representative and descendant of Woden, now joining to this idea that of a military character. It is natural for a people in danger to demand a warrior-king, and this now becomes the practice in England. Further, greater strength is obtained by greater unity. So we have kingdoms amalgamating under one powerful ruler. In theory the tribes were still dependent on their freemen; in practice they looked more and more to the king, and inequality of status grew.

The conquered lands were supposed to belong to the tribe as a whole, as land always did in Germany; but quite naturally the king was given for him and his family a special piece of land as a reward for his leadership. Beyond this he owned no land, but had often a right to certain dues which had to be paid by whoever owned other lands, and he could give away such rights. We can see how this would easily become ownership, and how already there are signs of what is known as feudalism.

The chiefs in the old land had had bands of young

warriors to fight for them ; in the new country these became bigger, and we find that such men, thegns, were rapidly growing important. Other classes survived,—in the freeman (the ceorl or churl), the eorl above him, and the slave below. Class divisions became clearer, and the fine paid to an injured person was varied according to his rank. This kind of price attached to a man was called his wergild.

There is one more important change, namely, that as the kingdoms grew larger, it was no longer possible for all the freemen to meet and decide all the big questions. So the chief men, those of high rank and reputation, went to the assembly, and as you know this kind of council was called the Witan, while the smaller local meetings or moots still took place.

In this brief sketch we have traced the beginnings of a process that was to make England more like the land we know, and the same thing was happening where the Teutonic tribes went, the causes being the same. Two big things were needed to hasten the change, and with them we get the settlement of mediæval Europe. Those two were the influence of the Church and the influence of the foreigner, the Northman. These helped to make us what we are.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the life of a typical German warrior—
 - (a) Before the conquest of England.
 - (b) Showing the difference made by this event.
2. Describe and account for the changes in government which resulted from the migration.

CHAPTER III

FRANKS AND NORTHMEN : THE RENEWING OF EUROPE

WE are trying to get some idea of the new Europe that sprang up on the fall of the Roman Empire. We have seen barbarous tribes established in most of the lands—Goths in Spain, Goths and Lombards in Italy, Franks in Germany and later in France. We have seen a little of the life led by some of these, and have followed the Germans to England. There are two races particularly which are important for later history, and these we must think of now. They are the Franks and the Northmen.

The Franks were, as we have already learned, Germans who probably banded themselves together in order to be stronger in battle. We hear of them first in the third century, but their real history begins with a certain king named Clovis, who in the end of the fifth century extended his power, and, more important still, became a Christian. From a small kingdom on the Rhine he made his rule accepted by the greater part of modern France, and his success was largely due to the fact of his conversion and his alliance with the Papacy. Clovis was a powerful king, and established his Court at Paris, but when he died everything fell into confusion for a century.

The most extraordinary thing is that when the Franks again became important, while the descendants of Clovis were on the throne, they had become completely overshadowed by the hereditary "mayors of the palace." It was one of these who again united part of the Northern Franks into one State; it was this mayor's son, Charles Martel, who founded firmly the fortunes of his house and of France. He did this by wars on both banks of the Rhine, by a firm alliance with the growing power of the Papacy, and by a most important victory at Tours in 732, when he repulsed the Mahommedans who were invading Europe from the South on a religious crusade. Charles' son, Pippin, definitely became king, dropping the old title of mayor, and obtaining the Pope's consent to his taking the kingdom in name as well as in reality. He was anointed king by the Englishman, Boniface, who was acting as missionary to the Germans in co-operation with the Christian Franks. (Notice how already all these countries were influencing each other.) In return for the Pope's friendship, Pippin made war on his behalf against the Lombards of N. Italy, and defeated them. This is the beginning of Frankish interest in Italy, and of the temporal (as opposed to spiritual) rule of the Pope. Both of these we shall find to be of the first importance. Then, after Pippin, came in 770 the famous Charlemagne, who we must remember was, in spite of our name for him, a German through and through.

Nowadays we often think quite rightly of history as a story of movements, of peoples, rather than of such incidents as how Alfred burnt the cakes, but we find that we cannot neglect the heroes of the nations.

They sometimes sum up the history of the age, sometimes fail in a great endeavour to go beyond it. Always the really great men make a difference, and of these Charlemagne is one of the greatest. In reading the record of his reign, let us keep this idea in mind, and see if we find it true. First of all, Charlemagne was a conqueror, a brilliant organiser of victory, though very often he left the actual generalship to others. He subdued numerous risings and secured his power in what is now France and W. Germany. He fought many campaigns against the Saxons, who were still a barbarous and pagan race, and a race of fierce warriors. His motive was not that of lust of power, but the idea, curious to us, of converting the heathen by force; and even if we disagree with his method, we must approve the sincerity and zeal with which it was carried out. It was crowned with success. In the end the Saxons submitted, civilisation spread, and the Frankish rule was firmly established, leading directly to the building up of the mediæval Empire by the Germans. Beyond Saxony, Charlemagne fought in Bohemia and Hungary, again with success. In other regions he attacked the Mohammedans in Spain. Here he met with much resistance and only succeeded in securing a strip of land south of the Pyrenees, and it was in this struggle that Roland fought the losing battle that has been immortalised in the literature of many nations.

There is one military exploit not yet mentioned—the defeat of the Lombards—and that we place last, because it is so closely connected with the most important event of his life. The campaign against the Lombards was undertaken at the Pope's request,

and, as a result of it, Lombardy, *i.e.* all N. Italy, was annexed to the Frankish kingdom, and further intervention on the Pope's behalf led to a very natural act of gratitude. In the year 800, on Christmas Day, the Pope formally crowned Charlemagne Emperor, in St. Peter's, Rome. The Roman Empire was revived, and Western Europe acknowledged once more a common ruler. The next chapter will show more clearly the importance of this. Now we can notice that in other ways than military power the traditions of Rome were again taken up. The Empire was, in Charlemagne's lifetime at least, a model of good order created out of chaos, and a strong force working for progress and civilisation. There was a central council established, also provincial officials were appointed, and other officials whose business it was to keep these in touch with the central authority and see that they did not take too much upon themselves. This system was probably the best possible. Into this was worked the high ideal of its creator, who longed for the growth of a pious and educated people. He invited foreign scholars of distinction, among others an Englishman from York, established a school at his Court (at Aachen), and in other places, and in his laws and his instructions to his officials always put before them the very highest motives. Even though his Empire was broken up on his death, we can hardly say that it failed in its object, and many of its results were, as we shall see, permanent.

One of the causes of the breaking-up of Charlemagne's Empire after his death was the continual weakening brought about by the invasions of the Northmen, and this was common to all Europe. It

was another case of a migration of peoples, preceded by raids, and caused by increasing population at home, and a powerful love of warfare and adventure. The story of the Danish invasions of England is too well known to need repetition here—how there came first fierce, short, plundering raids, then big wars fought by powerful armies who were allowed half England for settlement by even Alfred. Then, after reconquest by Alfred's successors came renewed invasions, more feebly repelled, until England accepted a Danish king and wise ruler in Canute, after whom, however, the English were soon restored. At the same time as Alfred's struggles in England, other Northmen from Sweden invaded Russia with much success, and in 911 yet more from Norway invaded the Frankish lands, now under Charlemagne's feeble successors, and their leader Rollo forced the king to grant him lands which became Normandy, a powerful duchy. From there again, when the invaders had absorbed the Frankish culture, we have Norman conquests of Sicily and England, the latter of course under William the Conqueror.

Even more interesting, we find the Northmen sailing the Mediterranean, carrying their adventures as far as Constantinople, and above all it was they who discovered America. We always say that America was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492, but really that was re-discovery after centuries of forgetfulness. The Northmen knew Iceland well, and settled there in 874; from there they colonised Greenland, and from there accidentally, as early as the tenth century, they were taken in their frail ships to the American coast. No colonies seem to have been

made there, but many voyages were made, and continued to be made for some time.

The Norse Settlements are of very real importance, since the Northmen proved themselves to be capable of learning from the countries they conquered the best they had to offer, and at the same time of giving to them new vigour and a fuller, more progressive life. Franks and Northmen together laid the foundations of Europe afresh.

BOOKS

Any history of Europe, especially that of A. J. Grant.

KEATINGE and FRASER, *Introduction to World History*.
(Black.)

(Latter especially for more on "Norse Civilisation.")

QUESTIONS

1. Make a rough time-chart, taking about ten lines to represent 100 years, and different columns for different countries, the latter being vertical, the former down the page. In this, place the most important events and movements mentioned in this chapter.
2. Make a list of the countries affected by the Franks and the Danes respectively. What difference do you think these races made to Europe?
3. From this chapter say why you think Charlemagne is called "the Great," and why his reign is so important.

CHAPTER IV

MEDIÆVAL WORLD-GOVERNMENT

WITH Charlemagne we are launched into the Middle Ages, or mediæval times, whichever we care to call it. Ancient history has faded away ; the dark ages of confusion have succeeded, and now the mediæval world is being formed, which lasted roughly—there was no sharp division, of course—till the last half of the fifteenth century. During these centuries there were striking events and important changes which gradually prepared the world for the fuller life of modern times, but on the whole the Middle Ages were more settled than our day. People were governed more generally by certain fixed ideas, and there was more uniformity in Europe. So that we can more easily talk about mediæval world-government than we can about the more complex world to-day.

We date the beginning of these mediæval ideas as taking place in Charlemagne's time, so first of all let us recall what he did. The climax of his reign, as we have seen, was his coronation, by the Pope, as Emperor, and it is this which marks the beginning of a new age. Before this Europe had only known one common government, that of the Roman Empire. That, we know, was an Empire based on conquest

and maintained by military power and remarkable organising ability. It had fallen altogether in the West, leaving a rather pale survival in the Eastern Empire. Now, out of the chaos created by the barbarian invasions, once more a conqueror created an Empire, and though it broke up on his death, the idea lived and was taken up by others. Briefly it was this, that the world (*i.e.* Europe) should be all under one government, since it was (all that mattered) all Christian, and Christendom must acknowledge God as supreme ruler. God's chosen vice-regent by this time was acknowledged to be the Pope, who was the divine instrument ordering all things spiritual. Then it seemed only proper that there should be another authority fulfilling the same purpose in temporal matters, and that these two should work together and together direct the affairs of Christendom. So that there should be one Christendom, made up of several races, looking up to the Emperor and the Pope as heads ; the Pope through the Church teaching principles of conduct, the Emperor carrying these Christian principles into matters of government and the relations of kings with one another.

This is a sketch of the idea of world-government as it came to be believed, but of course it developed into this, and no one in 800 A.D. would have stated it in this way. Charlemagne was a great king and conqueror, and it seemed only natural that he should be anointed Emperor by the Pope he had saved. It was different when the strong hand was removed. The Empire was divided between the three sons of the Emperor, and it is not too much to say that this marked the small beginnings of modern nations. For

one son had France to the west of the Rhône ; another Germany between the Elbe and the Rhine, stretching to the Adriatic in Istria ; the third inherited the middle territory and N. Italy, and the border lands between France and Germany, which have been a source of trouble from that day to this. Before the end of the ninth century these middle lands had been seized and divided between the other kingdoms.

This division made the power of the Emperor purely nominal for a time, until the idea was revived and given power in the tenth century. The new Empire was strangely enough established not by a descendant of Charlemagne, but by one of the Saxons against whom he had fought so often. Germany was a loose kind of monarchy, a great deal of independence being left to the rulers of five large duchies, but in 936 Otto the Great of Saxony became king and made his power real by subduing the dukes, and finally repelling the Hungarians on his eastern border. From this work Otto, like Charlemagne, went to Italy to the rescue of the Pope, who was at war with the king, a descendant of the great Emperor. Like Charlemagne again, as a reward he was crowned by the Pope at Rome, taking the title " Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation." The Holy Roman Empire existed until 1806, though in its later stages it was neither Roman nor holy.

It is obvious that from the very first the Holy Roman Emperor was really only as powerful as his lands and position in Germany made him, and that he would never really rule growing countries such as England and France. Yet the theory was there, and the position did in fact carry much prestige with

it, so that as late as the sixteenth century we have great rulers quarrelling as to who should obtain the coveted title.

Very soon there arose difficulties, and this was only natural. The Emperor and the Pope were to be supreme in temporal and spiritual affairs respectively. But where was the boundary between the two spheres ? It is a question which it is impossible to answer exactly, and directly there arose strong emperors and strong popes, each side keenly conscious of its claims and wanting to push them, then arose also a struggle. There was a great deal to be said for each side. It was right for the Church to insist in attention being paid to spiritual matters, and to insist that those entrusted with the work of teaching and preaching to a lazy and worldly Europe should be good men chosen by the Church herself. It was right and natural, too, that the rulers of the State should claim to have supreme control over the State and to fight outside interference ; it was natural for an emperor to resist when told that the bishops who had charge of his lands and did the work of statesmen for him must in future be chosen not by him, but by an outside authority. The country was held together by the work of these bishops, who were more learned and less anxious for personal interests than other men. How could things be managed if these posts were filled with men whose energies went to supporting Church claims against those of the State ?

It was a great problem, and came to a head over this question of appointment of Church officials, and of investing them with the symbols of office. The investiture struggle rages for many years and in many

countries. In England we see the struggle coming to a compromise between Henry I and Anselm, being revived and coming to a tragic defeat for Henry II, when his rashness led to Becket's murder. But the contest was most severe between the Emperor and the Pope, the two champions themselves. Once, in 1077, the Emperor was reduced to begging for pardon from the Pope, standing barefoot in the snow. This submission at Canossa is often taken as typical of the submission of any lay authority to any clerical power. But the struggle raged till 1124, the emperors deposing the popes, and the popes excommunicating and deposing the emperors. Even after a compromise had settled this particular question, the same conflict was carried on through the Middle Ages, as the emperors tried to conquer Italy, and the popes and their party expelled them. The Empire in the course of centuries became exhausted with the struggle which kept the rulers distracted between enemies at home and in Italy. At the end of the Middle Ages the Empire we shall find regaining strength. The Papacy also in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries lost much of its power, at one time the popes being forced to leave Rome and live in France, and then for many years there were two or even three rival Popes, each claiming to be absolutely supreme—which was of course ridiculous. It needed a great effort for the Papacy to become strong again, an effort that only the Reformation called forth.

So the Middle Ages were the scene of a great struggle between Empire and Papacy, but all through the struggle men still believed and taught the idea of world-government that we have described. They

saw the good that there was on each side underlying the conflict, and they knew no other system yet with which to replace the one they knew and trusted. And often the conflict was forgotten or put aside for a time. Then we have such movements as the Crusades, headed by Emperors and temporal rulers blessed by the Pope as holy expeditions of Christendom going forth to fight the infidel. This was the expression of the mediæval ideal, though we shall see there were other motives as well as this, which caused the Crusades.

All the time there was quietly growing the force that was to be the undoing of the mediæval ideal, the force of nations. Germany, hampered by her ruler's imperial ambitions, remained a loosely united collection of states ; but France, England, and Spain were becoming united countries under strong kings, paying lip service to the governors of the world, but taking care that their countries were growing stronger and more unfettered, ready to break through the restrictions when necessary.

BOOKS

As before.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe shortly how men in the Middle Ages thought the world should be governed. How far was the idea put into practice ?
2. Give arguments for each side in the Investiture controversy.
3. What is it that makes the mediæval ideal seem strange to modern people ?

CHAPTER V

THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH

THE Church played a very great part in the mediæval world, so great that we cannot understand history without taking it into consideration. More especially it is impossible to understand the Reformation or the situation to-day without knowing something of the pre-reformation Church.

We see proofs of this power of the Church everywhere. Even the great idea of world-government that we have been studying was based on Christianity as expressed in the organised Church. This was more possible then than it would be to-day, chiefly because there were not yet any divisions in the Church itself. Everyone took it for granted that the Church should occupy a prominent position in the state, and command every man's allegiance. Hence it exercised in its corporate capacity more power than is possessed to-day by any one of the various churches, and this power enabled it to live through the storms of the disturbed Middle Ages. We wish to see now how this power showed itself and what use was made of it.

First of all the Church had as a uniting influence, proved to be of vital importance to the development of the nations. Those of the new faith continued to

be warlike when it was a question of first overcoming and then converting the heathen. So they conquered many lands and became strong. Meanwhile the preachers taught how it was the duty of all Christians to love one another, and hence alliances very often were made between Christian kings. In England, for instance, union was achieved far more easily after all the various kingdoms had been united in one Church, especially when the boundaries of bishoprics were made to cut across the old boundary lines of states, thus breaking down old barriers. Similarly, different countries were drawn together in the consciousness of having one religion; so that there was developed the idea of Christendom—a family of Christian nations. We find this idea living on and reappearing under different forms, such as the nineteenth-century Holy Alliance.

While the nations were growing, helped by the Church, the Papacy became great as the Church's head. The Pope was, in the Dark Ages, the representative of both Christianity and civilisation, since these things were spread abroad by the same people. Missionaries sent from Rome naturally extolled the power of the Pope who had sent them, and in the early Middle Ages the papal influence was vast. They made great claims, too. They proclaimed that they, as representatives of the Divine justice, could depose rulers, cancel decrees, and forbid subjects to obey their kings. The Emperors declared that they possessed the right to depose unworthy Popes, or call a General Council. It is the conflict between these two powers that makes up such a large part of mediæval history. It was this that later developed into a more dreadful struggle in the time

of the Reformation when the states and the churches were so often hostile.

In other ways the Church led the nation towards more modern times. It was a civilising force, from the nature of its message and the learning of its leaders. The message was civilising because it included not only a demand for courage and strength, but for gentleness and protection of the weak, and the opposites of cruelty and barbarism. Churchmen taught a higher ideal than that of vengeance. From them we learned to think of crime as an offence not only against the victim, but against society and morality. The Church set up higher standards, and was powerful enough to see that men obeyed them. Kings and princes were forced to do public penance for their sins, just like their humblest subjects. It was the Church which began the noble idea of Christian chivalry. The young man about to be knighted spent the night praying and watching in the Church. Then he was told of his knightly duties, of how he was to be true and valiant, to uphold his faith at all costs, to help the poor and distressed. This was a great ideal, and it was the work of the Church.

The influence of the Church was the greater because all education was under her control. Our educational system of to-day has grown out of the schools kept by priests and monks in the Middle Ages, though of course the changes have been many and great. In those days there were not so many different sorts of schools and subjects as there are now, because the aim of all was the same. Young men were taught learning such as would be useful for their career in the Church—Latin, music, and a few other subjects.

When in time interest in the other subjects grew, still theology took a high rank. From the eighth to the twelfth centuries, the monastic schools were most important, though they never held all the field. Where there were priests there were schools, and these grew more important until the Cathedral schools gave birth to grammar schools, the typical schools of the Middle Ages, where Latin grammar held the first place. Sometimes famous teachers attracted such great crowds of students that some form of organisation became necessary. Gilds of masters were set up, and no one was allowed to teach unless the masters gave him freedom to do so. This was the origin of degrees, and the gilds grew into our universities. There men studied law, medicine, or theology, if they went far enough. But many never got further than the preliminary Arts course, so that this became gradually the most important section, doing the work largely that is now done in secondary schools. Boys were prepared for this in grammar schools or smaller schools connected with gilds or with chantries that had been founded in order that priests should pray for the founder. All were either directly controlled by, or in very close connection with the Church. Even the unruly undergraduates were given benefit of clergy, as if they were entitled to clerical privileges. We shall see that this situation became changed with the Reformation, and then radically altered in the nineteenth century, as a result of the growth of industrialism and democracy. Yet we must first know something of the mediæval system before we can understand to-day.

Monasteries were typical mediæval institutions.

They were founded by men who could not endure the wickedness of the world, and desired to go into a quiet place and think and pray. They found that no community could be healthy unless, besides worship, there was some work to do. So wise men made rules ordering that part of the day should be spent in labour such as farming, part in study, and so on. There monks wrote and copied manuscripts, and kept learning alive in an unlearned age. They did good work among the poor ; they entertained travellers in days when there were no hotels ; they helped on agriculture and road-making. Above all, they stood for an ideal of holiness and learning that gradually taught the world its lesson.

But one of the remarkable things in history is the way in which a movement grows to meet a need, fulfils its purpose for a time, becomes in some way unsatisfactory and declines, to have its place taken by another movement begun with freshness and enthusiasm. In this way the monastic movement did a great deal of good, and then declined. Many monasteries continued to do very good work, but some became known for corruption and luxury, a departure from the old ideals. Then there arose men to denounce them and carry on the work in another way—the Friars of St. Francis and St. Dominic. These men reinforced the rule of poverty, and did splendid work preaching and helping the poor. Unfortunately, impostors came who were friars because as such they could get a living by begging and doing little, so they in their turn lost much of their influence. The great teachers in the same way tended to devote their attention to little things and petty questions ; learning

became dull and pedantic. There was great need of reform, and reformers came. There were great heretics—Wyclif in England, Huss in Germany, and a powerful sect in S. France. All these men protested against the deadness and the abuses in the Church. They were persecuted ruthlessly. The Albigensians were exterminated (thirteenth century); Wyclif was tried several times, his followers were burned (fourteenth century). Huss was martyred by the General Council of 1415. But these heresies made people begin to think afresh. They were the forerunners of the Reformation, the great movement that was to do so much towards making the modern world.

The mixture of good and evil in the mediæval Church can be seen very conveniently in the movement that we know as the Crusades. The idea was in many ways a noble one, that of giving up lands and wealth at home to go and fight the infidel for possession of the Holy Land. There were great waves of enthusiasm, great masses of people taking the Crusader's badge and vow. Yet we cannot help seeing that the Crusaders were sometimes urged on by ideas of a less noble character. One of the Crusades spent its force in establishing the Latin kingdom of Constantinople. In spite of this, the Crusading movement saw a great deal of genuine enthusiasm and heroism, and it was essentially mediæval. It had for its basis the ideal of all the nations of Christendom, going at the call of the Pope and under the leadership of the Emperor to protect Europe from the infidel barbarians. It was the idea of world-government by Pope and Emperor put into action. It was the growth of national jealousies that made the movement a

failure, and this was a development that was to break up the mediæval ideas altogether, encourage the Reformation, and give us the modern world.

BOOKS

For the Military Orders.—Any book on European history, as already quoted.

For Monasteries.—Simple accounts in *Piers Plowman IV.*, or any social history; for more detail, Church, *Anselme* is good; and Mrs Oliphant's *St Francis* is the best and easiest book for the friars at their best. Jusserand, *Wayfaring Life*, should be in any library, and has helpful passages.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain the various ways in which the mediæval Church is important in history.
2. Read in any history book about the Crusades, and find out the reason for them, how far they were successful, and the results of them.
3. Make a list of as many important Churchmen as you can who played the part of English statesmen, saying briefly what each is famous for, *e.g.*—
Stephen Langton . . . Magna Carta
4. Find out anything you can about the Military Orders—the Templars, the Knights of St John, and Teutonic Order. What was the work of these Orders?
5. Explain why men became monks, and describe the life and work of a monastery.

CHAPTER VI

FEUDALISM IN EUROPE

WE are very far to-day, obviously, from the life of the Teutonic tribes and of Anglo-Saxon England, yet our society is a descendant of theirs, and it is very interesting to trace its growth. In the Middle Ages Europe was under the sway of feudalism, which in turn gave way gradually to modern conditions, the quickest change coming in the Industrial Revolution. Feudalism grew from earlier customs, and forms a very important link with the life we know. English children used to be taught that the Feudal System was a mysterious thing that came in with William the Conqueror. This is not quite true. Feudalism had been growing slowly in England before 1066. The Normans brought with them some more rigid forms, and this was of importance as long as England was mediæval. But, as we shall see, it never was a "system" really, and in England it was different in some ways from on the Continent. Our Norman kings were strong rulers, and they purposely avoided many of the customs of Continental feudalism. So that, except in Stephen's reign, we see in England an improved kind only.

The reasons for the beginning of feudalism are easy

to see. It would often be to the advantage of a small landholder to hold his land of a lord, and be saved the necessity of looking out for himself; also it would please the lord to have men owing obedience to him. What made feudalism become such a big and important thing in Europe was that after the time of Charlemagne the kings were weak, everything went to pieces, and so the feudal lords became abnormally great. Private wars were fought between these lords, who got together large armies of their own, and were practically independent of the king whose subjects they were supposed to be. They had their own law-courts, from which men were unable to appeal; they levied their own taxes, kept order among their men, and made war when they thought fit. They held as hereditary the great offices which Charlemagne had set up for the good government of the countries of his Empire.

In this confusion feudalism came to be adopted, and naturally, as everything was so disturbed, it was never exactly the same all over the country, but varied in each place. That there was any strong likeness between the different arrangements made was due to two strong tendencies which already existed. The Romans, when threatened by the barbarians, and the English when threatened by the Danes, found it often the best plan to give their lands to a neighbouring lord in return for his protection. Also there was, as we have noticed, the custom of men learning to become warriors by attaching themselves to chiefs, fighting in return for their keep. These ideas became joined in time, and together made up what we call feudalism,

which is really a mass of custom based on certain common principles.

In this way feudalism is founded on (1) a system of holding land, and (2) personal service of a military nature. There is one important thing to remember which is strange to modern minds. There was no *land-owning*; it was all *land-holding*, for all land in theory belonged, under God, to the king. No one else could own land, even by buying it. All a man could get was the rights that belonged to the land. These he could, if he chose, sub-let to another tenant; and so very complicated arrangements grew up, each having a separate bargain belonging to it. These land rights were not given in exchange for money then, for money was for some time rather scarce. They were given first and foremost in exchange for the military service we have mentioned. The new tenant, kneeling before his lord, swore that henceforth he would be that lord's man, supporting him when called on, both himself and a certain number of other men arranged for beforehand. Other things might be added, such as the promise of fish or wine at stated seasons, or anything else that the lord fancied, but the personal service was always the greatest item of the bargain. The result was that when the king wanted an army, he sent to his tenants-in-chief, who sent to their sub-tenants, and so on, until it came to the end of the long line. To collect a feudal army was a work of time. From another point of view, too, this method was unsatisfactory. One man might hold part of his land from one lord, part from a second, and the rest from a third. To each lord he swore allegiance. Then, if the first two rose up against the king, and the third

remained loyal, where was the vassal to take his men ? It was practically impossible for a lord to be sure of his vassals.

Besides military service there were a few other things that became general all over feudal Europe. The lord could demand large sums called "aids" from his vassals whenever he knighted his eldest son, saw his eldest daughter married, or was himself taken prisoner and in need of a ransom. Every change of hands of an estate meant that "relief" was paid by the heir to the lord, a sum usually equal to the income of the land for one year. And whenever the lord liked he could travel to his vassal's house, often with a large train of followers, and demand that he and his should all be fed and housed as long as they stayed there.

At the lower end of the scale were the small tenants holding strips of land in the fields of the village over which one lord held sway. Some were personally free, yet bound to the soil ; others were serfs, free neither as to person nor as to property. All had their strip of land in the cornfields, their cottage and little garden, their right to put their cattle out on the common pasture, their pigs in the common wood. For these rights the tenants paid heavily. They owed personal service, not only in time of war, but constantly, this service being given in labour in the fields. Each man owed his lord so many days in the week, generally two or three, to be spent in cultivating his land under the orders of his bailiff. In time of harvest extra days were required, and at all times the peasants might be called on to help the lord by carting, or building his castle, roads or bridges, all

for nothing, and to their own loss. Then of the produce of their own lands, a portion had to go to the lord, and the rest the poor men could not dispose of freely. They had to bake in the lord's oven, make their wine in his wine-press, grind their corn at his mill, and pay toll in each case. Every act was recorded by custom only, and much depended on the character of the lord and his servants, for they could oppress the peasants very heavily, or else leave them to prosper.

If a peasant thought himself wronged by his lord, he could not do much besides grumble, for the court was the lord's court, and generally justice was given according to the lord's wishes. To hold a manorial court was one of the privileges given with the land, and the lord and his officers arranged the proceedings. All vassals were supposed to be present, to help judge, and to bear witness as to the custom of the place. However, in time they came to dislike this duty as a waste of time, and avoided it, so that there was no longer even a pretence of popular justice. In the same way the kings grew tired of the slow, undisciplined feudal army, and allowed men to escape the service due as long as the lazy ones gave enough money for soldiers to be hired to take their place. The mediæval army was a mixture of the feudal levies that we met in the Hundred Years' War, and the skilled but indifferent hired army used mostly in Italy and Germany. Gunpowder was not invented (or introduced to Europe) until the end of the Middle Ages, so that warfare was one that lent itself to the ideas of chivalry and knightly service then held. Private warfare was so general, and produced such suffering,

that the Church intervened by proclaiming the "Truce of God." By this all warfare other than national was declared to be illegal, and liable to punishment if conducted at the week-end or in the part of the year round Easter. This was never very strictly enforced, but it serves to show the anarchy which feudalism might and did foster. The Church sometimes, as in this case, tried to improve feudal conditions, and often was the only institution that came stronger out of a time of chaos. (Compare Stephen's reign in England.) Here is an instance of the methods of a bishop holding a feudal position :—

" I summon and conjure you (his vassals) in the name of God and St. Mary and in our own name, that ye come to us before next Easter and do your service to us or render a just account of your benefices. If you shall not do this, I will excommunicate you for your disobedience ; and I will forbid you to hear the divine office, to receive the communion while you live, and to have Christian burial when you die. Yea, verily, I will curse the castle of V . . . and the lands thereof. . . . And afterwards I will give away . . . the benefices which ye hold. . . . May God change your hearts, my children ! "

QUESTIONS

1. Explain the rise of feudalism, and say in what mainly it consisted.
2. Think of anything that would tend to destroy feudalism.
3. Describe a feudal village, showing what the " system " meant to the inhabitants.
4. Find out the ways by which the English kings made feudalism less weakening to the monarchy.

CHAPTER VII

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY LABOUR UNREST

FEUDALISM was a natural growth in an age of small villages, over each of which a lord presided, villages which were largely self-sufficing, and lived on the principle of give-and-take between lord and tenants. But it was not an arrangement that could adapt itself at all readily to new conditions ; it only suited times which were more or less at a standstill. So that directly things moved towards progress, the rigid customs of feudalism were felt to be objectionable, and trouble arose between the discontented and those who wished to retain the old arrangements. In the fourteenth century changes began which shook feudalism, and in England destroyed it.

Feudalism was more of a system in France than in England, and was destined to last much longer. It was the irritation caused by the remnants of the system which helped to bring about the great Revolution of the eighteenth century. In the fourteenth century France and England were at war, and this aggravated conditions in each country, meaning as it did heavy taxation and, in France, devastation. Then the Black Death swept over all Europe, coming from the East, and large sections of the population

were swept away in each country. The same amount of work had to be done by fewer men, and the discontent grew. England we will examine soon, but we will look at the less important rising in France first. There a leading citizen of Paris tried to bring about a reform in government such as was taking place in England, the states-general taking the place of our parliament. This was an idea so far ahead of the age as to mean a revolution ; there were riots in Paris, and the leader was killed. This disturbance was seized upon as an opportunity by the peasants, who wanted not political but social change. They were without a programme ; they were intensely ignorant and very bitter with the knowledge of their own poverty and the luxury and oppression of the nobles. The great Italian scholar, Petrarch, travelled through France in 1360, and he said, " I could not believe that this was the same kingdom which I had once seen so rich and flourishing. Nothing presented itself to my eyes but a fearful solitude, an extreme poverty, lands uncultivated, houses in ruins." So the peasants, called in mockery " Jacques bonhomme," rose in revolt, and indulged in horrible outrages and aimless cruelties before the forces of order came and suppressed the risings with equal brutality. There was no attempt made by the king to improve conditions, and they remained, to create trouble in the future.

In England changes had begun before the Black Death. Some lords wanted, not merely to produce enough from their lands to live upon, but to work them for profit. Some of their tenants also wanted to improve their methods in agriculture, and nothing much could be done under the old system of cultivating

strips and maintaining fixed duties and rights. Lords began to let or lease their land, and become land-lords rather than master-farmers, or they joined together their various strips and took to sheep-farming. In either of these cases they no longer needed the services of so many peasants, and either sold out their rights or changed the services due and rent in kind into payment of money. This process is called commutation. It did not come about in all places, or in any regular way, so that when the Black Death came, some lords were still having the old services, some were being paid in money. Some peasants were attached to the soil in the old way, but some had already broken away, and hired out their services as free labourers.

Then came the catastrophe of the Black Death, and the lords found their lands largely untenanted, and badly in need of more labourers. The surviving peasants had more work to do, and prices were higher, so they either demanded commutation at the old rate, which would mean they paid their lord very little, or else, if they were free labourers, they demanded higher wages. Some of their masters gave way, in order to get their lands cultivated at all, but some refused to accept these demands. Then there came trouble. Parliament, in which sat many landowners, tried to check the rise in wages paid to free labourers by Acts of Parliament. The labourers were politically of no account, so such Acts could be made, but economically they were so important that the same Acts were difficult to enforce. Once more we find it impossible to make one statement as to what happened in England, for it differed from place to place. Prob-

ably it is true to say that wages, which had begun to rise before the Black Death, continued to rise, though checked in some measure by legislation ; and certainly it is true that the spread of discontent was helped by the knowledge of this.

The feudal or "manorial" system was, then, gradually breaking up from the thirteenth century onwards, as the class of free labourers grew, lords let their lands, and services were commuted. The Black Death had not a big enough effect to cause in any sense a revolution, but it hastened the natural changes a little on the whole, and it made the people realise their grievances more. These were that (1) those still doing labour services were overworked because of the shortage of labour, and were receiving their old terms, while free labourers were getting high wages ; (2) these labourers were bound to various irritating customs—the fixed day's work on the lord's land, the obligation to use the lord's mill, "the lack of liberty to hunt and fish at large," etc. ; and (3), the free labourers who hired their services found the rise in wages checked, and were furious at the levying of the poll-tax and the incompetence of the government. Corruption and injustice were very general, and we have an account of the life of the times written by a man of the people, William Langland. He grew indignant at abuses of the rich, and at the laziness and greed of the poor as well. He says : "Labourers with no land, but only their hands' work, deigned not to dine on day-old vegetables ; no penny a gallon did for them, nor a piece of bacon, but pork, fish, or fresh flesh, fried or baked, and that hot, very hot, to warm their insides. And but he has high wages else

will he chide, and bewail the day he ever became a working-man ; curses the king with a will, and all his Parliament, that make such laws (Statute of Labourers) to keep the labourer down."

The result of these conditions and of the general discontent was a series of scattered risings in the last half of the fourteenth century, ending in the big one of 1381, generally called the Peasants' Revolt. It has been described as "the first great struggle between Capital and Labour," and "one of the most significant and interesting events in the whole of mediæval history." It has been taken here as an important incident round which we can centre the break-down of the feudal "system" in England. It was by no means only a peasant rising. It attracted the townsmen also in many places, but their special circumstances we will examine later on.

There was no organisation responsible for the outbreak, and the way in which the risings took place at the same time and with a good deal of efficiency, has never been explained. All we want to notice here is that the demands of the rebels were partly political but largely social, in accordance with the conditions we have noticed, and that the whole was given greater force by religious preaching inspired largely by the friars' praise of poverty and abuse of riches. One of the watchwords was an old rhyme :

" When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ? "

which shows the simplicity and the bitterness of the peasants. The revolt, successful at first, was in the end suppressed with considerable energy. It did not

settle the disputes, and many smaller risings followed. It had aimed at ending the feudal duties of the peasants; we know that these lasted some time longer, but the process of decay may have been helped on a little. Some lords even took the opportunity to assert their old rights more firmly than ever. Generally this, like the Black Death, quickened the change that was coming in any case.

This was the change from manorial to modern agricultural conditions, and for convenience we may see here the different things that made up the change. The disappearance of serfdom was not completed till the sixteenth century, but in the fourteenth the process had begun.

First of all, then, was the frequency with which peasants were given their freedom by their lord, from some idea of the rightness of freedom, or more generally because the lord was farming his land in a new way, and did not need the old customary services, which were often given in a very grudging spirit. He often let or leased his land, and so would need fewer labourers, or converted it from corn-growing into pasture-land, which naturally had the same effect. Especially in the sixteenth century in England, and in the eighteenth, there was a great deal of enclosing lands, either joining up the old strips and putting a fence round, or putting fences round waste land or commons, or turning the whole into pasture-land. This clearly put an end to the old feudal type of village previously described, and substituted a number of big estates worked by hired labour. Other causes there were for the change. Many peasants ran away from their old masters and succeeded in joining the

class of free labourers. Many were attracted into the towns, and it was the growth of these that helped largely to break up the old system of self-sufficient villages, to foster trade, to spread the idea of farming not for existence, but for a profit, and consequently to establish more modern relations between master and men. Money was plentiful by this time, and altered the value of things.

QUESTIONS

1. Summarise the grievances of the peasants in the fourteenth century.
2. How much were conditions altered by (a) the Black Death, (b) the Peasants' Revolt?
3. Explain the causes of the break-down of feudalism (as far as concerns agriculture), and point out some of the main differences between the system of land-holding then and now.

CHAPTER VIII

MEDIÆVAL TOWNS

IN talking of social conditions in the Middle Ages, we have so far neglected the towns, which helped so greatly to break down the manorial system, and introduce the modern world. When filling up this gap, let us be careful to remember how greatly the mediæval town differed from the big industrial centres of to-day. They were little more than overgrown villages, many of the population living by agriculture as in the open country. Even in London some courts were never held during the harvest, so that the people should not be hindered from working in the fields; and in Norwich, one of the most important towns, weavers were forbidden, as late as the sixteenth century, to do weaving in harvest time. Each town had its own town lands, in which citizens were allowed to pasture their cattle, and great importance was attached to these lands. In 1518 a London crowd went out to throw down enclosures that had been put up on their meadows.

English towns had a history of their own, because—apart from London—they were so small and rustic. Being comparatively unimportant to the politician, they were allowed to develop in peace, whereas

on the Continent the cities became a political factor, and so were liable to interference. In Italy the cities became city states, each with its own army, its own method of government, and it was these towns that came to be the seat of the Renaissance. France and Spain each had large cities, Paris especially playing a great part in mediæval politics. The shores of the Baltic and the north coast of Germany were even more important, and deserve a little description. German traders from very early times carried their trade into the Baltic as well as the North Sea, and, more than that, they even made large settlements in towns belonging to foreign states. For such big ventures it was of course much safer to band together than to go separately, so merchants would join in societies both at home and abroad for mutual protection. At home they would be merchant guilds, built very much on the lines of the English ones which we shall describe later, though there were some differences. Abroad the German merchants found that they constantly needed the backing of some organisation to enable them to compete on equal terms with the native traders of the place. So they formed foreign guilds called *hansas*, with officials who played the part of our consuls to-day, administering justice among the members, seeing that no member was injured by a foreigner, and looking after the trade regulations. Traders from one place—Hamburg, for instance—would form a *hansa* in an English town, and link it with their *hansa* at home. Then gradually all the *hansas* in England belonging to any German city would unite and form one powerful guild. It was found that the bigger the guild the

more advantages could its members enjoy, so there was a tendency to unite. This resulted in the gradual formation of the famous Hanseatic League, joining up the home and foreign hansas of all the cities of North Germany and the shores of the Baltic where their settlements were. This League became very powerful in the fourteenth century—so powerful that, when one of its cities was sacked by the king of Denmark, all the League joined in producing an army and navy, and carrying on a successful war. Soon, however, the League lost its strength, largely because of quarrels between the cities belonging to it. There was one other reason—the mysterious migration of the herring from the Baltic to the shores of the Netherlands, which helped to transfer to that part of the coast the prosperity of the Hanse towns.

The English towns were always on a smaller scale. The kings used them as sources of revenue, granting them privileges in return ; these privileges were highly valued, but were of a local character, and not nearly so important as the large rights claimed by foreign cities. Each town looked after its own interests, and was inclined to think of them to the exclusion of bigger, wider interests. The same thing happened in the country. All over our land, and other lands too, men cared in very early times most of all for their family and their tribe. Then the tribe grew into small kingdoms, and men thought first, most of them, of their village. So, in mediæval times, the centre of men's thoughts was the village or the town, and these small districts were more or less self-sufficient in material things as well. Then, during the mediæval period, the nations began to grow, trade grew fast, and

instead of the town and village being in this way independent, it was now the nation that was becoming self-sufficient. When this had happened modern history had begun, in the fuller sense of the word, so this is what we have to remember now—that a town of the Middle Ages was largely self-centred, but that there was the beginning of the wider national idea that was to make modern Europe.

The English towns had grown from the Anglo-Saxon times when they were just fortified villages, with “wood-framed huts with gabled roofs of thatch and reeds,” till in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were big enough to have a very busy, prosperous life. Even then London only contained about 40,000 people; Bristol and York 12,000, and the rest fewer still. From the time of the Norman Kings charters had often been given to towns, giving them certain rights, generally in exchange for money to fill the royal purse. Gradually prosperity came to justify these charters, and flourishing towns arose. The woollen trade that was in early times the mainstay of England was superseded by the trading in cloth. The wool was no longer sent abroad to be made up, but was manufactured first, and then exported. This one kind of manufacture gave, as always, cause for others, and for the rapid growth of mining for iron and copper. Trade increased greatly, and in every town there were wealthy merchants used to managing great ventures, and capable of governing the town. So that the fifteenth century saw general prosperity in the towns, in spite of the Wars of the Roses, for the good folk generally took care to open their gates to the strongest. Unlike the greater towns of the Continent,

with the exception of London they stood aside in the mediæval warfare, and throve in consequence. Their energies were spent largely in maintaining their rights.

These highly-prized privileges are all such as would be treasured by men fired with the love of their town, looking more eagerly after its interests than after those of the nation. One of the greatest was the right to exclude from the borough all sheriffs and royal officials. Instead of joining with the shire in arranging the raising of men for the army, of money for the Crown, or going to the Shire Court of Justice, the chartered borough could manage these things for itself. The burgess was subject only to the court of his own town, and if he were proved guilty he had the privilege of being separated from the common criminals. If a merchant of another town refused to pay his debts, the creditor could secure his payment by getting the authorities to seize the goods of all those from the offending town who were within the borough walls. He enjoyed the trading privileges which we shall study in connection with the gilds. He shared the town rights of common, fisheries, etc. But, above all, he paid his taxes on an assessment made by the town, not by the sheriff or lord's bailiff. He was one of a privileged body who bargained as to the amount of taxes to be paid, directly with the king, not subject to other authorities. In those days each class offered to the king certain sums to be levied on their resources; there was not a national budget as there is now, and so this privilege of boroughs was highly prized.

In return for these advantages the burgess had

certain duties to perform. He had to contribute towards the expenses of the borough, the upkeep of the parish church, the payment of the actors and minstrels who served to amuse the townsfolk. He had to help in policing the town, chasing criminals and taking his turn at keeping the watch. He had, when called upon, to give freely of his labour for public works, and to help in protecting the town's property and liberties. When there was national danger the boroughs gave their quota of men, and it was the duty of the burgess to take up his arms and go on active service. Above all, he was one of the privileged citizens, and as such he helped to elect the town officials and carry on the business of the borough, making rules, and seeing to the administration of justice. Many boroughs had severe struggles with lords or abbots who wished to interfere with their government. It was in these battles that English townsmen learned to take part in public business, to carry on local government, and to play their part in the life of the nation. On the Continent the boroughs became so exclusive and independent as to form one of the "estates" when the mediæval parliament was summoned. In England alone there was, in spite of the hardly-won privileges, no sharp division. Land-owners were interested in the wool trade, burgesses joined in the business of the shire. So that knights were sent to Westminster to represent towns, and our parliaments were more national and united than in any Continental country. The importance of this cannot be over-emphasised, for the nature of our town-life and government in the Middle Ages explains how the English came to be experienced in self-

government, and how we came to be, through the Ages, the great example of a democratic and freedom-loving nation. The complicated structure of self-government is based on the practical experience gained gradually in local government.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the difference between English and Continental towns ?
2. What were the duties and privileges of burgesses ?
3. Explain simply how the mediæval towns were a stage in the advance from primitive to modern days, both in ideas and in the conditions of life.

CHAPTER IX

MEDIÆVAL GILDS

THE gilds are specially important to people who are trying to understand things as they are to-day, as they were a vital stage in the growth of industry and its organisation. We want to see what part has been played in our history by these gilds, and what sort of thing they really were.

The first gilds were very early in date, about the time of the Anglo-Saxons, and they were religious in character. They had some features borrowed from the old banquet-loving Norsemen and Teutons, with added to this the influence of the Christian teaching of brotherhood. The combination of these made religious fellowships, which, among other things, held great banquets to foster good feeling. There grew up many customs that are carried on to-day by our friendly societies. Members helped each other in old age, sickness, or poverty, or in cases of great loss. In some towns these religious gilds became closely connected with the government of the town, but generally they came to be merged into another newer kind of gild—the merchant gild.

Not all towns had merchant gilds. London, for instance, never possessed one. But most towns

reckoned this gild one of their most valuable privileges, and the town charter often contained a clause granting it to the new borough. It has been defined as "the department of town administration whose duty it was to maintain and regulate the trade monopoly." Let us see what this means. Each town in the Middle Ages was, as we have seen, rather narrow in its ideas, looking on all from other towns as "foreigners." Any such "foreigners" coming into the borough were subject to various restrictions, so that the inhabitants could have the first chance. There grew up a body of men to see to this, and these men made further restrictions. No one could become a member of this body who was not a recognised craftsman able to take his share of work and payment with the others. Soon membership became compulsory, and anyone who wished to make or trade in the town was obliged to join the gild, or pay tolls and suffer many hindrances. Members of the gild could buy and sell and keep shop freely. No other inhabitants of the town were allowed to do anything of the sort. Foreigners were allowed to trade so long as they obeyed the gild rules and restrictions. They could not stay longer than forty days; they had to stay with a gild official, and pay heavy dues on every transaction. These are typical rules:—"No foreigner shall bring tanned leather to sell into the town of Reading at any time of the year except only during fairs. Also no foreign fishmonger who brings fish to the market to sell, shall cut up his fish to sell, except with the permission of the stewards or bailiffs; and no foreigner can have licence to do this, if any gildsman have any fish to sell."

This exclusive gild was a well-ordered body. There was an alderman elected and other officials with him, who summoned meetings, admitted members, collected fees, and kept the treasury in the gild hall, where the feasts were held. There was the power of solemnly expelling from the gild all who were unworthy of it. To be a gildsman was a valued privilege. It carried with it, not only the right to trade, but special rights. One of these was that a gildsman was able to buy any goods he desired of another member at the price they originally cost. As well there were the functions taken over from the religious gilds of caring for the welfare of all members, making good their losses, visiting them when ill, and so on. Yet the chief thing was always the right to trade freely in the town, and to be able to go to other towns with knowledge that the gild would support any member in case of trouble and difficulty.

The strength of the merchant gilds was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. That was the period, both in agriculture and in the towns, of group production, largely for the consumption of the group who made the goods. It was the period also when the State limited its intervention, and left inter-town trade to the people in the towns. These conditions lent themselves to the formation of the exclusive gilds that we have been considering.

Gradually another kind of gild grew up which took away most of the importance of the merchant gilds. Men of all kinds of crafts had been admitted to the gilds from the beginning. There was a natural tendency for other groups to grow up within these gilds between members of the same craft. Tanners,

shoemakers, and so on, joined together in smaller gilds of various sorts. Some, like those of the tanners, were of those who prepared work for dealers. Others, those of bakers, tailors, and shoemakers, were of those who manufactured and sold their own goods, being what we should call small masters. There were yet others of middlemen and traders, such as drapers, and the saddlers and leather-sellers who used the tanners' work. Still more select companies were those of grocers and mercers, men who already spent their time, not in producing, but in trading and living by commerce.

These different kinds of gilds show that industry was becoming organised in a much more modern way. From the time when a number of men did each of them a number of different crafts, there was beginning to take place the change to the industry of to-day, when a single little article goes through many men's hands. This modern development is called division of labour, and the division has become more and more minute and complicated as civilisation has progressed. The biggest step was taken during the Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth century, but an important stage was the last half of the Middle Ages with which we are now dealing. The very formation of countless craft gilds shows that labour was already being divided up among many different groups of men. Especially is it important to notice that already were there the germs of the great modern divisions in the industrial world—middlemen, merchants, small masters, and those who work for bigger masters. It only needed time and the growth of industry to bring about the deeper division into large capitalist and employer,

capitalist merchant, middleman, and wage-worker, which is the general rule to-day.

With the growth of industry grew the importance of the craft guilds. On the Continent there were often conflicts between them and the merchant guilds, from which they were excluded. In England there is no evidence of much struggle, and craftsmen could enter the merchant guilds. What seems to have happened is rather the weakening of the bigger merchant gild in any town by the forming of so many craft guilds that there was scarcely any life left in the original body. Each craft now controlled its own industry. It made rules ensuring good workmanship and reliable workmen. It assessed wages in common and fixed prices, taking stern measures against any who would not obey gild rules or who tried to set up shop without joining it. At the same time they still carried on religious functions, often supporting a priest, and they helped the poorer members who were in need.

The craft guilds superseded the merchant guilds. They in their turn fell into decay, and for the usual reason. The gild rules were rigid and fit for one state of society. Directly things progressed, these rules were found to be a hindrance, and, after a struggle, the guilds gradually lost their power. Most of this change happened in the fifteenth century, for it was a time of great industrial development. There was even some rough and rather primitive machinery set up in manufacture, and the workers showed their discontent and distrust by rioting. The towns attracted labourers from the country, and this, by bringing more poor workers, deepened the divisions between classes. In trade itself rival interests began to show them-

selves, breaking up the mediæval theory of group production for the benefit of all, and foreshadowing the merciless competition of to-day. For instance, the merchants boasted how successful they were in raising the price of cloth, while the middlemen grumbled that the big price was alienating foreign customers. Above all, there was serious trouble over wages and prices. The guilds had been in the habit of regulating these, and had done much good in maintaining a decent standard of living and preventing the meaner masters from underpaying their men. But times had changed, the guild rules were found to be too old and too wooden for the rapid expansion that was taking place. The guilds held to their rigid rules, and by their obstinacy brought about their downfall. Their fall was certain anyway, for new factors were arising. Men with capital to use in industry were getting more and more powerful, and refused to be restricted by any guild law. Large organisations arose which tried to secure a trade monopoly, and succeeded in doing this—which meant, of course, the defeat of the guilds' efforts to maintain *their* monopoly. Neither the public nor the bulk of the craftsmen benefited any longer from the guilds. The public found them no longer sufficiently strong to regulate prices when faced by the capitalists. The workers in the craft found the guilds grown very exclusive and undemocratic, with high fees and hereditary membership. So the reign of confusion began in the industrial world, which in the end caused the State to step in and take control. That meant the merging of local into national interests, and was distinctively modern.

One development is especially interesting. The work of the guilds was done by masters, helped by apprentices and hired men called journeymen. Originally these looked forward to becoming masters in their turn. Now the increased population and the increased size of the businesses meant less chance of masterships, and gave rise to a distinct class of journeyman who was a permanent wage-earner. Competition was growing, men worked for profit, and the interests of master and man often clashed. The questions of to-day are no new questions. These journeymen quarrelled with their masters over wages, length of hours, and conditions of living, the guilds and the parliament (which was not truly representative) trying to maintain unfavourable conditions. So these journeymen formed guilds of their own, sometimes at the suggestion of the masters, who wanted to let them talk themselves quiet.

These journeymen's guilds were in many ways not unlike modern trade unions. They consisted of wage-earners only, they fought the same questions, and they often used strikes, even sympathetic strikes. The great difference is that they failed to make their guilds lasting, against the pressure of State and borough, and that there was less zeal because there was still a chance for the more enterprising among them to become masters. In Tudor times the situation changed. A new class of wage-earners arose, and the journeymen found themselves often small masters employing these men, so that they lost any resemblance to trade unionists that they ever had.

The craft guilds were never much like the modern unions. They tried to fix wages and hours and

maintain the standard of life, but they were composed mostly of masters and middlemen, who took up their stand against the consumer if against anyone. The trade unions are exclusively made up of wage-earners banded together against the capitalist and master.

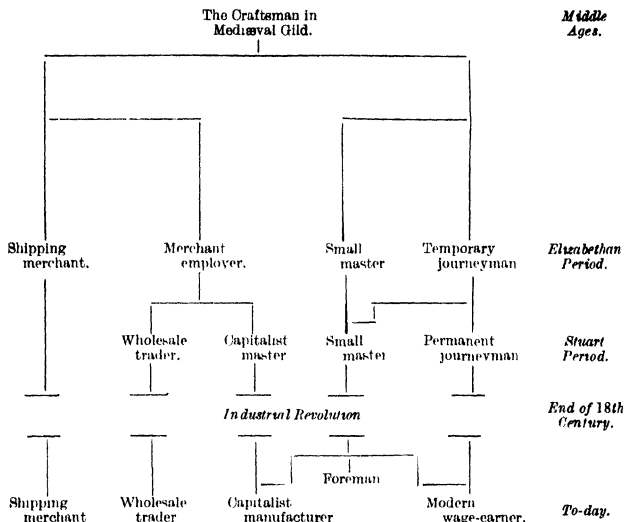


Diagram adapted from Professor Unwin's book on Gilds.

The gilds were enabled by law to compel men to join them, and they were despotically governed by the leading members. Trade unions are at least supposed to be democratic bodies, and they do not now exclude even unskilled men. Finally, the modern unions are organised on national lines, the gilds were only local. Above all, when considering the difference, always

remember the difference in time and in circumstances which make the organisations so different in idea and in form.

Trade unions did not grow up till the nineteenth century, caused by the new conditions brought about by the Industrial Revolution. Yet there is a very real connection between the organisation of labour now and in mediæval times. Use the diagram on the opposite page, and trace the way in which labour was divided and organised, until you understand how things have come to be as they are now.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the different kinds of mediæval gilds ? Describe carefully the special use and purpose of each.
2. What brought about the downfall of the gilds ?
3. Explain what is meant by division of labour, giving any illustrations you can from a trade you know. What is the importance of this process in the history of industry ?
4. Compare and contrast mediæval gilds with modern trade unions.

CHAPTER X

EUROPE AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

WE have been considering mediæval Europe, and have amassed enough material for every reader to be able to picture it to himself. To make things clear it will be best now to sum up the situation at that time, to recall the course of evolution, and see how far the world was prepared for further developments.

There had been very great changes from the time of the Romans. The map, for one thing, was very different. It had been one large military empire, ruled from one centre; the north and east alone had with barbarian strength defied the Roman legions. Now there was still a ruler at Rome, but his spiritual power was shaken and his temporal power small. The Pope ruled over central Italy, but the peninsula was broken up into small states. The south was a kingdom under a French line of kings, but the most important part of Italy in wealth and civilisation was the part north of Rome. There the land was under the sway of big cities, each city being the capital of a state. Florence, for instance, was an independent republic, and it came in time to control many lesser cities in Tuscany. Milan in the north grew steadily more powerful until her dukes were strong enough to

intrigue against the Emperor. For the Emperors still claimed to be overlords of the north of Italy, inheriting the claim from the invasions of those who in early days had asserted their rights against the popes. But the large cities of the Po Valley proved a thorn in the overlord's side, making a league with him one moment only to turn against him the next. So the city states grew, and the Emperor's control was not very secure. Two cities especially grew besides Milan—Genoa and Venice. Both these became great by trading with the East, and Venice in the fifteenth century ranked as an important independent state. She was ruled by an aristocracy of an unusually fine type, headed by the Doge, and her wealth enabled her to build a wonderful city renowned for her splendour. During the fifteenth century Venice began to acquire territory on the mainland—a policy that increased her power, but, by making her neighbours jealous, led to her downfall in the end. These great cities—Florence, Milan, and others—were just the places where an educated prosperous class would be able to appreciate the Renaissance, and it was in them that the movement grew which transformed Europe. In this way they gave us a great heritage, the value of which we shall realise more when we have studied the Renaissance; but what is fortunate for us and glorious for her name was unfortunate for Italy. The small states had in them many men of genius and courage, but they were jealous of each other, and in order to gain the advantage they called in foreigners. The foreigners came (the first invasion being in 1494), and from that date Italy remained a prey to foreign intervention, divided and helpless, until Napoleon

gave her the name of Italy, and prophets roused the people to a nation fighting for existence.

Germany was no longer a land of barbarians and village communities, but she, too, was divided and weak. Strong kings had arisen, but they had spent their strength trying the hopeless task of maintaining the power of the Holy Roman Emperor against the Pope. Successful invasions were made, but the subdued lands rose in revolt directly the Germans left. No real unity could be made between lands separated by the Alps. The effort only exhausted the resources of the successive emperors, and made them helpless in the hands of powerful vassals and hostile leagues. There were numerous free cities, and some, as we have seen, organised themselves into the Hanseatic League. Ecclesiastical princes and lay princes held much territory, and they had the power of electing the emperor. By this time it was the custom for a Hapsburg to be chosen, though it was not necessary to hold to this. The Hapsburgs were descended from the rulers of a little border province or "mark" called Austria, and Hapsburgs have ruled Austria till 1918. Then it was not a separate country, but a part of the Empire, and the Emperor relied upon it largely for his position. His power in virtue of being Holy Roman Emperor was small. There was no imperial army and no effective tax system, so that he had to obtain men and money as best he could from the lords of the Empire. He had a great title and took precedence of all others, but that would have meant little if he had not also been a great landowner in his own right. In the rest of the Empire there were some considerable states, such as Bavaria, but

there was as yet no rival to Austria. One small state, however, is worthy of notice because of its after-history. The mark of Brandenburg had begun, like Austria, as a border province created as a defence against the enemy. Still small, it was growing, and is important to us as being the nucleus of the kingdom of Prussia. We shall trace its growth later on.

The ideal of world-government was still the same—that the Emperor and Pope were at the head of Christendom in their different spheres. Yet in practice things were very different. In Germany and Italy the Emperor could still hold authority to some extent, for those countries were disunited and chaotic. Elsewhere Europe was steadily changing from mediæval to modern Europe, and the clearest sign was the unifying of countries and the growth of national feeling. There was no such passionate longing as we find in the nineteenth century, the great period of nationalism. The growth of nations has been very gradual. By the end of the Middle Ages three countries had unified themselves and begun to live their own lives—that was all, but it was immensely important. France, England and Spain had reached this stage. Portugal was also a nation, but was merged into Spain for a period in the sixteenth century. Switzerland had joined together her cantons in a Confederation. But the other three are the best examples.

Each began its history as a collection of provinces ; each gradually fell under the sway of one ruler, and strengthened itself against external enemies. Spain was, in the fifteenth century, united by the joining together of the ancient enemy kingdoms,

Castile and Aragon. The process was completed by the final defeat of the Moors in the south of Spain, achieved under the vigorous leadership of the Queen Isabella. With the discovery of the New World, Spain was to become a great power in Europe.

France had on the disruption of Charlemagne's Empire suffered confusion and wars. Out of this a line of kings arose who in the tenth century established themselves at Paris. The history of mediæval France is the story of the expansion of this little kingdom into a large and strong monarchy. It was a growth attended with many difficulties, from enemies abroad and enemies within. Abroad the greatest foe was the band of Northmen who took possession of Normandy in 911. These men acquired Christianity and civilisation, while keeping their vigour and courage. The combination of these virtues made them foes to be feared, and when William of Normandy conquered England, the whole strength of England and Normandy was pitted against the little kingdom of France. The English kings, however, were vassals of the French kings, and the only big regular war was the one we know as the "Hundred Years' War." The English were jealous for trade reasons, and they found the excuse of a disputed succession to serve as reason for a declaration of war. At the time of Henry II., the English king had ruled vast lands in France, many of which had been lost. You know how Edward III. won back a great deal, how this was again lost, how Henry V. won again and was acknowledged heir of France. Then the French began to feel themselves a nation, urged on by Joan of Arc, and they fought with

renewed strength. Another thing that led to the defeat of the English was the quarrel between them and the Duke of Burgundy. This powerful prince of the east of France had been playing an independent part, and allying with the English. Now even he found it better to fight the invader. The English were gradually expelled; by the middle of the fifteenth century they had scarcely any lands left. France had learned to regard herself as one nation. Yet there was danger from the great feudal lords, who had control of whole provinces. Louis XI came to the throne while these troubles existed, and by cunning and courage he succeeded in subduing the nobles. The nation felt that these nobles endangered the unity and welfare of the country, and were content to let the king become powerful at their expense. So in France, as in Spain, the strength of the country seemed to be greatest when there was a powerful king, and absolute monarchy became the ideal. It is very important to realise how the power of the Crown grew to be bound up with the power of the nation, for it explains the way in which absolutism grew in France, and was tolerated. The competing powers were subordinated to the Crown. The nobles were allowed to keep their social privileges, but their political ones were taken away. There were feudal assemblies, like those out of which our parliament grew. But these were class assemblies, which were never very popular or very powerful. The king was the real head of affairs, and all loyal men looked upon him as such.

England had gone through the time of strict feudalism, just as France had, but her development

was on different lines. There were strong kings often during the Middle Ages, and each king had a great deal of influence. A weak ruler like Stephen could do much harm. But there were ways in which England differed from the Continent, and this has made our history as interesting and important as it is. We, because of these differences, developed a system of self-government such as no other country has, and have won the name of the land of liberty.

For one thing, we never needed in mediæval times to be always prepared for war, with a large paid army. The Channel was more of a defence then than it is now, and it was enough in time of danger to summon the citizens to arms. So our kings were not at the head of large standing armies, as were the rulers of countries with land boundaries. Therefore they took the nation more into partnership with them, and were not so absolute. They were able to find capable men, because self-government was already growing up. We know already how the towns had grown used to managing their own affairs. In the country there were also magistrates called Justices of the Peace, who did, unpaid, a great deal of useful work. So that, instead of the king sending out special officials to do his work, he saved trouble by sending to the mayors and the magistrates, asking them to do it for him. In this way there came to be numbers of people used to helping in the management of affairs, and they were unpaid. This means that if a bad king ordered something harmful, very likely these unpaid officers would not do it, whereas in France paid officials did the king's will. Then the king very often wanted extra money for a war or some other purpose, and he

could get no more from his lands or dues. He found it convenient to summon together representatives of the towns, and the country squires (or knights), as well as the nobles, and get them to promise so much money, and send it. That is how our Parliament began, so that very soon no king could get extra money without asking Parliament first how much it would give. The English parliaments were national from the first, and without such deep class divisions as there were abroad. So that even in the Middle Ages, when rigid organisation was the rule, we have the establishment in England of local self-government, and of a Parliament with control over the purse. In some ways it did not seem to be much advantage. The army was driven out of France, and, though it was a good thing, men then did not think so. Then there were the Wars of the Roses between rival houses, just as there were civil wars in France, and the country suffered. Yet the towns grew and prospered, and self-government was firmly planted in our land alone.

Europe by the fifteenth century had come to the end of the Middle Ages, though she did not know it. Feudal land tenure and gilds still existed and seemed powerful, but new conditions were undermining them. Brisker and more extensive trade meant competition, and the importance of the man with capital to lend. It meant a bigger, more national outlook, leading to the "Mercantile System" which we shall read about. The unity and strengthening of nations undermined also the mediæval ideal of government by Emperor and Pope. Men were many of them restless, and unable to bear the rigid way in which things were

governed. They were taught in the schools mostly in the same way, a great deal of grammar, argument about little things, and so on. But they were ready for new teaching. So the world was ready for the big movements that were coming : the new learning, the new religion, and the finding of a new world.

QUESTIONS

1. Draw a map of fifteenth-century Europe.
2. Describe the condition of Italy and Germany in the Middle Ages, showing the reasons for it as fully as you can.
3. Trace the growth of France. What was the most important part of the government, and why ?
4. In what ways did England differ from France ? Show the importance of this.
5. What factors went to begin self-government in England ? What is the advantage of these things ?
6. Describe the different ways in which Europe was at the end of one age and the beginning of another.

CHAPTER XI

THE RENAISSANCE

OF the movements that made modern Europe, first of all came the New Learning. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Renaissance or re-birth, for it did a bigger thing than change the face of Europe—it changed its *mind*. It revolutionised the way of thinking that was general in Europe, so that even the humble and uneducated were taught by its outer waves to think again and re-value the traditions in which they had been brought up. It produced some of the most beautiful and wonderful masterpieces man has ever made. It led directly to the vast work of the Reformation of the Church ; its work is unconsciously affecting us every day of our lives.

The movement was badly needed. The method of learning which had in the early Middle Ages produced scholars like Anselm and Aquinas had grown so stereotyped that it prevented men from thinking originally. At least it tried to do so, but in this, as in all similar attempts, men were found strong enough to break the meshes made to hold them fast. On the whole, however, it succeeded only too well ; the average student did exactly as his fellows had done

before, studied the same deadening books, and achieved very little that was worth anything.

There was much excuse for this unfortunate method. The classics of Latin and Greek literature were most of them lost at that time; new nations were only gradually growing to maturity, and had as yet no literature worthy of taking the place of the old. Science was practically a negligible quantity as yet. The only things to study were the surviving classics and theology. Latin was a necessary preliminary to any study, as all books were written in that language. So the mediæval schoolboy learned Latin grammar by heart—a very dull task—and learned the substance of some old Latin works. If he went to the university, he very likely went at an early age, and lived a wild life. His lectures would be in Latin. There were no dictionaries, no printed books, so the master read from manuscript, the scholar took it down at his dictation, and was questioned on it. He read in this way a good deal of grammar, and logic, and some philosophy; he joined in arguments and discussions of a hair-splitting nature, and after four years of this was given a bachelor's degree in Arts. More of the same type, with a great deal of oratory, and a little arithmetic, geometry, and music, made him a master, a member of the gild. Then he could study Law or Medicine or Theology in more detail, but most stayed in the Arts Faculty, and never went any further.

Learning was evidently not a very exciting process in the Middle Ages, but we see that it could scarcely be helped, and much of the scorn of the reformers was undeserved. One of the cleverest of all the

scholars of this period was called Duns Scotus, but he was despised so much by the men of better fortune that a stupid child is even to-day called a dunce after him. The world certainly wanted to be waked up, and the process of waking we call the Renaissance. It was a gradual movement, and we cannot fix a date for its beginning or end. Roughly speaking, its beginnings were in the fourteenth century, its full strength in the fifteenth and sixteenth. The pioneer was a great poet, Petrarch. He was an Italian who (in the cosmopolitan Middle Ages) developed a passionate love for Italy, and, above all, for Rome, with her glorious heritage of history. He studied Latin in its purity, not its mediæval corruptions, and read all the classics he could find to foster his love for old Rome. He literally found many of them, for he spent much time and wealth travelling about collecting old manuscripts and inscriptions. He wrote excellent Latin verse himself, and hoped to become famous by it. All we remember him for is a series of exquisite love sonnets written in Italian ! He did a great work in spreading the desire for pure Latin, and he found copies of Cicero's works. Cicero was one of the cleverest and most careful of Latin writers, and one of the features of the Renaissance was the way in which it rejected everything in Latin that was not Ciceronian.

It may not sound as if Petrarch's work did much to improve the old learning. But something of the Renaissance was already there. He did not learn Latin as a duty, he regarded it as a treasure of the greatest value, as a living thing to be studied for its own sake and the sake of the literature contained in it.

He had the freshness of mind and the enthusiasm that was characteristic of the Renaissance throughout. Others quickly followed him. Boccaccio, from whom Chaucer learned many of his stories, was a true student and collector. He learned Greek, a language that had almost been forgotten in the Western world, and in Greek he found more of the world's greatest literature. In 1396 a Greek was obtained to be Greek Professor at Florence, one of the greatest mediæval cities, and the centre of the intellectual world. Manuscripts were found in ever-increasing numbers; one scholar alone discovered 238. Wealthy men, not only in Italy but in France and England, collected vast libraries, and had a number of men employed in copying the books. Then, halfway through the fifteenth century, printing was invented, and that was an event of tremendous importance in the history of the Renaissance. It prevented books from being spoilt or lost, as had often been the fate of manuscripts. Above all, it enabled the movement to spread. Before, students had been obliged to go to a centre of learning where manuscripts had been collected. It was very difficult in those circumstances for a scholar to read all the works he wished to know. Now he could much more easily obtain books, even though he had not much money. There was a Venetian printing press that sent out beautiful copies of the classics for 2s. 6d. each.

Yet another event helped on the movement. In 1453 the Turks took Constantinople, the centre of the Eastern Empire and of much ancient learning. The Greek scholars fled, and found a way of earning their living by teaching their own language and their

own classics in European cities. They brought many new works with them, too. People used to say that this fall of Constantinople began the Renaissance. We have seen that this is not true. What it really did was to end one stage of the movement and begin another, when the new learning spread all over Europe and influenced it profoundly. Already scholars had waked to a new enthusiasm for study. Old men began to learn side by side with children, and they no longer spent so much time learning grammar. Grammar was only a means of reaching literature, not now an end in itself. A good, all-round education was the ideal now. Students learned music and mathematics, physical exercises and Greek, all side by side. The aim was "a harmonious development of mind, body and character," which would produce not only learned men but good citizens and neighbours.

Some men of the Renaissance were most wonderful in the way in which they studied many subjects. Leonardo da Vinci was one of the greatest artists even in that day of great painters. His "Last Supper" is justly famous; his other works are not quite so generally known. At the same time he studied science and mathematics, and knew a great deal of them. He planned new inventions, one sketch being actually that of a flying-machine! Music he loved as well; he was a typical man of the age.

As the movement became general in Italy, men read so much about the old days of Greece and Rome before Christianity was known, that they almost became pagans. The courts of the Italian princes were splendid places, where poetry and art were discussed and patronised. Raphael and Michael

Angelo did their best work at the bidding of duke or pope. But at these courts also, centres of the new learning, the new architecture—things all inspired by the past—men discussed the philosophy of the past, and many of them rejected Christianity.

Men from other countries went to Italy to study, and came into contact with this new paganism, this worship of the classics. Fortunately for the world they took home the love of literature, the wish for fresh and true thinking, without the scorn of religion. England, France, Germany and Spain, each in her own way combined the zeal for learning with a reverence for tradition. Germany especially turned her attention to investigating not so much old Roman literature as the early Christian Fathers. In England Colet was one of the first Renaissance scholars, and his first set of lectures after his visit to Italy was on St. Paul's Epistles. He established St. Paul's school, where boys could learn the new classics, and have a liberal and religious education. Sir Thomas More was so much attached to his faith that he laid down his life for it. These men wanted to use the new movement to strengthen the Church, and they did valuable work in making criticisms and commentaries. Erasmus, for instance, translated and annotated the New Testament.

But the movement was too strong for even these men. The Renaissance introduced not only a love of beauty and ancient literature, but, as we have seen, a desire that each man should use his intellect in thinking afresh what he had been taught to believe. Men had believed that what authorities had taught them was true. Now authority was no longer

sufficient; each man wanted to assure himself that his faith was reasonable. This is a movement that is always dangerous, for many men are too ignorant to judge wisely, and they are liable to reject the truth for lack of understanding. But in itself it is a necessary thing, and there are always many clever men who can undertake it and find the truth for which they search.

One result of the Renaissance, then, was that men thought more for themselves, and that therefore they thought differently. The most important man for our purpose was Martin Luther, for from his thinking sprang the vast movement of the Reformation, which has so vitally affected the world.

Looking back, then, we can see what the Renaissance has meant to the world. Everywhere it meant a revival of learning, a new interest in literature and life, a new idea of knowledge and what it involves. Everywhere it meant the birth of genius, the creation of wonderful pictures, statues and buildings. In each country it meant that men developed a real love of scholarship and the search for truth that it involves. These are our heritage to-day. It led in the northern countries of Europe to the Reformation. It gave new life and energy to all countries; it began the modern world by encouraging individuality in men and in nations.

It did all this and much more, yet it was not the only factor in the re-making of the world. There were other movements taking place about the same time, and it is the combination of all these that went to make modern Europe. The same man who built a school to teach the new learning would perhaps

spend another part of his money fitting out a fleet to discover new lands or plant a colony. There is one important link between these movements, the coming of the Turk. It was this, as we have seen, that gave great impetus to the Renaissance; it was this also that made men persist in their efforts at exploration. At the same time it gave birth to one of the most perplexing of problems, the question of the Near East. So that, to take things in due order, we must find out something about these Turks, and the part they played in transforming the mediæval into the modern world.

QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by "the Renaissance"? What difference did it make in study and in outlook?
2. Describe any Renaissance works of art that you have seen (either the original work or a reproduction). Can you find any special characteristics belonging to them?
3. Explain the main difference in the nature of the movement in Italy and in England and Germany. What was the result of this?

CHAPTER XII

THE COMING OF THE TURK

BEFORE the Turks came to Europe the Near East was already inhabited by several races. The most ancient peoples were the Greeks and Albanians, descendants of the inhabitants who were famous in ancient history. They were under the sway of the Eastern Emperor, who claimed to be the rightful Roman Emperor, with his capital moved to Constantinople. As early as the sixth century invaders came to stay in the Balkans. These were the Slavs, a comparatively peaceful collection of tribes who swarmed over the Danube and gradually occupied the greater part of the Balkan Peninsula. Probably they were urged to conquer new lands by the pressure of a more savage race, the Avars. These Slavs are the ancestors of the Serbs and Montenegrins and other South Slavs of our own day.

In 679 there was a further invasion, this time by a people from Central Asia, kin to the Turk, who had for a time been living round the Volga. These were the Bulgarians, a stern and cruel race with an evil reputation equal to that of the Huns. These new tribes drove out the Slavs from a section of their territory and settled in the region inhabited by

Bulgarians to-day. In a remarkably short time this terrible race changed its character. It became Christian and civilised, and even adopted a language similar to that used by the Slavs whom they had conquered. From this time the Bulgarians are to be reckoned as a Slav race.

It is not necessary to follow the history of these Slav states in detail. It is enough to notice that in the eleventh century, after a fierce struggle, the Eastern Empire succeeded in subjugating the Bulgarians and parts of the other Slav states, but that the turning of the fourth crusade, 1204, against the Empire weakened it considerably. The Slav kingdoms changed continually, first one becoming powerful, then another. The most important was the Serbian empire built up by Stephen Dushan in the middle of the fourteenth century. Had this been permanent, the Turks would have found a stronger enemy, but Dushan died in 1355, and his empire broke up.

Meanwhile the Turks drew nearer, and to understand who they are we must look back a little. They were actors in the great Mohammedan onrush which had begun in the early seventh century. Mohammed's fighting religion fired the Arabs with such zeal that they founded a vast empire and constantly extended it. This Saracen empire was at its height in the eighth and ninth centuries, but was checked in Western Europe, and soon began to weaken as a result of internal divisions. In the eleventh century a caliph employed in his army a number of fierce fighters from Central Asia called Seljuk Turks, and found to his despair that these useful servants did not intend to remain in his service. Banding themselves together, they

conquered a great part of the Saracen caliphate to the east of the Mediterranean, and in 1071 met the Eastern Emperor in battle, and took from him most of Asia Minor. It was this menace to Christendom, and the intolerance of the Turks, that urged Western Europe to undertake the first Crusade.

The Seljuk Turks founded in this way an empire that was considerable in extent and power. Soon, however, there began the divisions and jealousies that had caused the downfall of the Saracens, and in the midst of these came a yet more virile race, Turks also, but of a later invasion. They were called Ottoman Turks from the valour of their leader Othman, under whom they conquered much of Asia Minor from the Seljuks. These are the Turks that are so famous in European history. Othman's son first brought a Turkish force to Europe, working from Asia Minor as his base. In 1356 the Turks captured Gallipoli, and in rapid succession took Adrianople, Philippopolis in Bulgaria, and Macedonia. The strength of Serbia was broken by the death of Stephen Dushan, but the Christians of the Balkans determined to make a stand against the Turk. A league was formed, and in 1389 the Serbians fought a great battle at Kossovo. It was very bravely fought, but it ended in the complete victory of the Turks, who now swept over the peninsula. By 1451 they ruled modern Bulgaria and the northern part of Greece. The Eastern Empire was doomed, and would already have fallen had not the Turks been delayed by an attack of Tartars.

If mediæval ideas had been put into practice, all Christendom would have united to help the Christians

of Constantinople and repel the Turk. But by this time the ideal was growing dim ; young nations were arising in Western Europe who were very much occupied with their own affairs. Only Hungary was near enough to realise the danger, and in the hope of getting time to obtain reinforcements, this country in 1451 made a peace with the Sultan, each agreeing to maintain things as they were. But a young and ambitious Sultan came to the throne, and broke the peace. The fortifications of Constantinople were strong, but no armies came from Europe to help the Emperor. The triangle of ramparts was unable to stand against the biggest artillery of that day, and the wonderful organisation of the Turkish army. The Sultan was proud of his guns, and had special factories to make them. He had also one of the finest armies in the world at that time. It was not very large, about 200,000 only, but perfectly drilled and disciplined. The best part of the army was the famous band of Janissaries. These were soldiers who had as children been taken away from their Christian parents as tribute, and trained to spend their lives fighting against their fathers' faith. There were no finer and fiercer soldiers anywhere than these. So in 1453 Constantinople fell, and the attacking army was largely of Christian parentage. All the Balkan states except Montenegro fell under Turkish rule, not to be freed till the nineteenth century.

In the sixteenth century Turkish dominion was extended over Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, over Hungary and Roumania. Yet already there were seeds of decay, and men were beginning to talk of the imminent collapse of the Turkish Empire. It was an

empire upheld not by a conquering nation, but a victorious army. In the army the Janissaries became too powerful and less obedient ; the subject races had always been ready to rebel. European diplomacy has prevented Turkey from disappearing from Europe until now, and the problem of this alien race has caused many a European war. This is the Eastern Question, but it will be considered more naturally in later chapters. We wish to stop at present with the thought of the expansion of the Ottoman Empire and what part it played in the transition from mediæval to modern Europe. Already we have seen its influence on the Renaissance. We have now to consider its effect on trade and the discovery of new worlds, for without it great developments might have been postponed for a long time.

QUESTIONS

1. What do you know of (a) the Saracens, (b) the Seljuk Turks, (c) the Ottoman Turks ?
2. What do you understand by " the Eastern Empire " ? Trace its origin, and the reasons for its weakness and fall.
3. Compare the Bulgarians and the Turks, and account if you can for their different histories.
4. Draw a map showing roughly the growth of the Ottoman Empire.

CHAPTER XIII

EXPLORATION

THE coming of the Turk provided a cause for exploration : the new life and energy of a world waking up from the Middle Ages provided the vigour with which it could be carried out. Trade from India and the East had been possible before by a rather complicated procedure. Arabs brought produce from Eastern lands by overland routes, until on the shores of the Mediterranean they could hand them over to Italian traders, who distributed them in Europe. Now this became impossible, through the cruelty and intolerance of the Turks, and the produce was still urgently needed. Spices were necessities in days when all meat had to be salted throughout the winter. New measures had then to be taken, and it is not surprising to find Italians playing the part of pioneers. They had had long experience as seamen in the Mediterranean : they could produce excellent maps, and skilful pilots. But Italy was not a nation, so Italians sailed under the flag of other countries.

The old route was impossible : men began to look for new ones. They tried to get to India by sailing to the West, and, in so doing, Columbus accidentally found the West Indies, while others soon discovered

the mainland of America. This was an unexpected obstacle. Meanwhile Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal, sent repeated expeditions along the western coast of Africa, and in 1497 their patience was rewarded when Vasco da Gama reached India by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. Spain and Portugal were so far the exploring nations, and, according to the ideas of the time, they claimed a monopoly of land and trade in the regions they discovered. There was no international court or league then, but the function of such bodies was undertaken by the Pope, who, in the fifteenth century, was still the head of a united Christendom. So the Pope made an award, giving all west of a certain line to Spain, and all east to Portugal, as far as the new lands and trade routes were concerned. The line was just to the east of North America, cutting through the north of South America. Thus Spain was given all North, Central and South America except Brazil, which went to Portugal; and while the West Indies went to Spain, the East Indies and India were given for purposes of monopoly to Portugal. Small attempts were made by other states. Henry VII. sent the Cabots, and the King of France in 1521 another Italian, Verazzano. But there was no serious effort to contest the monopoly, since this would involve disobedience to the Pope, and war with Spain. So for a century Spain and Portugal enjoyed their privileges.

Then with the Elizabethan age came great changes. The Reformation freed the English nation and the "heretics" in other countries from obedience to the papal award. France embarked on a struggle with

Spain, for Spain was over-powerful. In the process of this struggle French seamen found great gain to themselves and annoyance to the enemy in privateering in the West Indies and the Spanish Main. They seized great ships with valuable cargoes, and became so famous that they won the name of Buccaneers—from the “boucan” or wood-fire that they built as they lay in wait among the islands. With Elizabeth’s reign the English began to learn this process from the French. Smugglers such as Hawkins, who took negroes to the Spanish colonies, were met with opposition and often treachery. Then they became pirates in revenge, and men like Drake became the terror of the Spaniards, their daring increasing as England and Spain became more openly hostile.

In this way the Spanish monopoly was challenged, and to some extent broken down. The deeds of daring involved are a well-known tradition with us to-day, and incidentally they brought about more exploration. The English now sailed in the unknown seas where they had never ventured before. Especially famous is the voyage of Drake round Cape Horn and round the world, a feat only once performed before by Magellan. Drake found it wise to go home another way, because all the Spanish were roused behind him on the coast where he had been, and therefore he undertook the great adventure.

But the unprivileged states were not satisfied with privateering, and the Cape Horn route was too long and dangerous to be of much use for trading purposes. So they encouraged yet more explorers. Some daring merchants went to Turkish lands, braving the danger of imprisonment and the galleys. Some merchants

even went farther afield. One London man, for instance, went to Syria and Mesopotamia, where he was imprisoned by Portuguese agents and sent to Goa, whence he escaped and had an adventurous journey back after eight years' absence. We shall see how for safety in this kind of work big companies were made. Yet a new route would be safer still and easier, so schemes were made and daring explorers went out in their frail barks into wild uncharted seas and among lands peopled with savage tribes.

Frobisher aimed at finding a passage by the North-West of America. He did not know that ice made it impracticable, so he planned and carried out several journeys in that direction. John Davis tried the same route, and they persevered amidst overwhelming difficulties. They made valuable discoveries and made many charts, but, needless to say, they discovered no passage. Strange to say, it was in trying for the same passage that the Frenchman Jacques Cartier stumbled upon the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and exploring up the river he founded the French dominion in Canada.

Men had tried the south-east, the south-west, and the north-west. Only one way remained to be tried, and adventurers were found to make the attempt. Willoughby and Chancellor made their way to the north-east. They also could not find a passage through, but a trade was opened up with Archangel which proved to be of considerable value. So the world was explored and charted, and travellers brought home much that was curious. Red Indians and Esquimaux found themselves in England, with specimens of minerals and fruits that the countries

produced ; and many queer tales came with them. There were stories of devil-dances witnessed, of monsters unknown to Europeans, of strange heathen customs, and new phenomena, such as icebergs. So geography, and trade, and curiosities were all mixed together in travellers' stories. Here is an example : " Ganges cometh from the north-west, and runneth east into the Gulf of Bengal. In those parts there are many tigers and many partridges and turtle-doves, and much other fowl. Here be beggars in these countries which go naked, and the people make great account of them." In this way knowledge grew, and the world grew more familiar. The Elizabethan age was typical, and summed up the various activities of the seamen. Trading, smuggling, buccaneering, exploring, all found their devotees, and it was then, too, that English people began to think of planting colonies. We shall hear more of this side of their work, but it is wise to realise now that all these things were taking place at once, simultaneously with the Counter-Reformation Struggle, making one of the world's most wonderful ages.

QUESTIONS

1. Draw a rough map of the world, omitting Australia and other places since discovered. Trace some of the most famous voyages, *e.g.* Drake's, and show when and by whom the various places were explored.
2. Write an imaginary account of any one voyage of exploration.
3. Explain the reason for the zeal for exploration, and show why the English and French began to share in the work so late.
4. What is the use of exploration ?

CHAPTER XIV

REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION

WE are studying the making of modern Europe. We have seen how the Renaissance gave a new meaning to art, learning, and life itself; how the Turk unconsciously helped this movement, and also provided a motive for the explorations that resulted in the discovery of a new world. Linked with these is another movement equally vital to the history of Europe, the Reformation.

We know already how the revival of learning prepared the way for a re-valuation of many things, and that among these was bound to be religion. We know also how the spreading of education and the printing of books provided the material for the new criticism. A movement, then, was inevitable. That it began when it did is the work of Luther; that the criticism was hostile is due to the Church of that time. Luther's story is too well known to need to be told here in detail. He was a monk, as you know, who began by imbibing the enquiring spirit of the Renaissance. He had access to the Bible and the Early Fathers, among other books. In the light of these he formed an idea of what the Church should be. Then he looked about him and saw what it was in

reality, and the difference made him ashamed and indignant. He saw that, though there were many exceptions, the Church as a whole had become worldly and corrupt, failing to fulfil her proper function, and allowing abuses to creep in. It was not unnatural that this should be so, for all institutions are apt to take this course. To avoid degeneration constant thought and revision are necessary. But the Church in those days had not caused its leaders to examine how things were, or how far the purposes of the Church were being fulfilled. So Luther could not avoid seeing many defects, and when a flagrant abuse, the sale of pardons by a particularly worthless man, came under his notice, he took action.

You know how his thesis pinned on the church door startled the world, and how many were found to support him. The important thing to notice is that the leaders of the Church—led by the Pope, of course—refused to recognise Luther as a keen churchman who wished to purify the Church, and preferred to regard him as an enemy and oppose all his suggestions. In this attitude lies the tragedy, which broke Europe into hostile camps and led to endless religious wars and deep divisions even to-day. Luther was undoubtedly an obstinate man who could be exceedingly irritating, but it is always possible to discount such things and, by recognising his equally real genius and great qualities, to co-operate with such a man in carrying out a great work. As it was, Pope and Emperor opposed Luther and tried him, forcing him to retreat to a place of safety. Then the Reformer went further, and developed doctrines at variance with those of the Church, saying the current ones

were corrupt and mistaken. He questioned the papal teaching on the Sacraments, and on Justification, as well as on such questions as the marriage of the clergy.

While Luther lived there was no actual warfare, for he was a restraining influence. Soon after his death, however, war broke out, for some princes were on his side and some on the Emperor's. We know how divided the country was, how uncertain was the Emperor's position, and how jealous and independent were the princes. Charles V. was a particularly powerful Emperor, ruling over Spain and the Netherlands as well as Germany; but in one way this weakened him, as he could not concentrate his attention on any one country. There is no need to study the history of the war; it is only necessary to look at the result. The Emperor was beaten sufficiently to agree to a compromise. Each prince was to decide in what way his people were to worship. During the struggle it had become evident which state was on each side, so that this was possible. The forces of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation had met, and decided that in Germany each should keep its own ground. Bavaria and the south and the Hapsburg lands themselves had been won by the Counter-Reformation movement, while the north remained Lutheran, so the division was much as it is to-day. Bitter wars broke out again in the seventeenth century, in what is known as the Thirty Years' War. By this time motives were not solely religious, and the war which devastated Germany so thoroughly that its effects are still with us, ended in the confirmation of the previous compromise. It was not toleration, but each state followed its ruler.

Meanwhile the Reformation movement spread over Europe, taking a slightly different form in each country, and in each being met by the hostile movement of the Counter-Reformation. This later movement was begun to defend what remained to the Church ; later it attacked, wishing to regain what had been lost. Victory was made more possible by the removal of the abuses that had been censured and by the clear definition of the doctrines of the Church. This important work was accomplished by a Council held at Trent, which rejected the Reformers' ideas, and proceeded to strengthen its position in this way. The Church acquired strength for its struggle in one other noteworthy way, and that was by the founding of the Jesuit Order. A Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola, was forced by wounds to give up a soldier's career. He then carried out the idea of forming a sort of army for the Pope, a band of devoted men who would be efficient and well-trained in all kinds of work. Above all they would be under the strictest military discipline, sworn to implicit obedience. The advantages of this Order to the Counter-Reformation movement are obvious. It provided teachers, statesmen, devoted missionaries, men in all stations of life under oath to make the movement the supreme thing in their lives. It was a wonderful instrument, and did good service to its cause, though, of course, it involved a loss of individuality that has alienated many people, and it made bitter enemies.

It has been noted that each country had a different form of the great European movements. For England it will be sufficient here to notice the most important features and stages. It began in this

country as a political movement. At first it did not appeal to the nation much, and Henry VIII. even went so far as to write a book in opposition to Luther. Then the King was unable to persuade the Pope to grant him a divorce, and in anger carried through in the Reformation Parliament a series of measures which separated the Church in England from the Papacy, and set up a National Church with the King as head. Still there was no change in doctrine, and the Act of Six Articles actually devised penalties for those who held Protestant doctrine. In 1547 the minority of Edward VI. began, and the protectors took the Reformation much further, Northumberland outdoing Somerset. Each imposed a prayer-book on the people, and continued to seize Church lands. The doctrines held were not so much Lutheran as those preached by Calvin, a Frenchman, and Zwingli, a Swiss. With Mary came the Counter-Reformation, symbolised by her marriage with Philip of Spain, the champion of the movement. The reaction was too severe, and the Elizabethan settlement was readily accepted by the bulk of the nation taking, as it did, the middle way. But the Puritan or Calvinist party grew until it fought and won the civil war against the intolerant High-Church party. This Puritan rule proved unpopular ; the papist tendencies of Charles II. and James II. were even hated. The happy ending was reached with the beginning of toleration under William III.—a toleration that was complete only with the Catholic Emancipation Act of the nineteenth century.

In France the struggle was more severe. A strong Huguenot party grew up, with an efficient central

organisation and recognised leaders such as the Prince of Condé and Admiral Coligny. On the other hand, there was a strong Counter-Reformation party headed by the Guise family. Between these parties there were many civil wars, and as time went on, these were as much political as religious, each side appealing to foreign powers for help. Violent incidents took place, such as the massacre of St. Bartholomew, when thousands of Huguenots were murdered. Elizabeth sent enough help to prevent the Huguenots being utterly conquered, but this amounted to little. In the end, still in her reign, her contemporary Henry IV. came to the French throne. He was the Huguenot leader, and though he changed his religion to gain the crown and put an end to the wars, he gave toleration by the Edict of Nantes. In the seventeenth century there were further wars which took away the forts and political power of the Huguenots, but the toleration remained until Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes. Then numbers of Huguenots—the industrial population—were driven abroad for refuge.

The movement in Spain has a shorter history, for there the Reformation never took deep root, and the Counter-Reformation made its home there. Philip II. of Spain was its champion. He used the Inquisition which had already been established, and crushed the Protestants in his own country. He tried to do the same in the Netherlands, where he also ruled. There the Calvinists were strong, and a leader was found to lead the national resistance in William the Silent. He was a noble who devoted his life and very considerable genius to resisting Spanish oppression. Many times he was reduced to such

desperate measures as cutting the dykes. He saw the southern provinces, modern Belgium, decide to remain Roman Catholic and loyal to Spain. He was disappointed of help from the Huguenots and from French princes. Yet the United Provinces succeeded in enduring all, and defeated all the wealth and resource of the Spanish Empire. Spain herself never recovered from her efforts against the Netherlands and against England. Here the Reformation won a great victory against overwhelming odds.

With the seventeenth century the age of religious wars passed away. Most countries had learned something of the lesson of toleration; they fought now for trade or colonies, but not now in the name of religion. Europe was divided then much as she is now. Spain and Italy, Austria and South Germany, Belgium and Poland, are Roman Catholic countries. France is mostly Roman Catholic also, though the government is neutral. Holland, England, Scotland, Prussia and other German States belong to some form of the reformed faith. The struggle was long and bitter. It made the history of Europe for a century and more, and there are important results. There were the usual effects of war—poverty, devastation, stricken trade. There was the experience that preached the wisdom of toleration, an essentially modern virtue. There was also the great impetus given to national development. Holland was literally made by the Reformation. Spain was equally pushed by it among the more backward states. Both France and England owed several of their colonies to religious persecution. Above all, each nation had learned to realise her individuality. Each had found

her own solution of the problems created, and so had developed a more definite character of her own. This meant not only the rise of nations, but the probability of new relations between them, often long rivalries and wars. In fact we have arrived at the Europe which we remember, which we hope in some ways we may never see again.

QUESTIONS

1. What do you know of Luther and the Reformation in Germany ?
2. Make an outline chart of both movements, taking one country to a column, showing the important movements that took place at the same time.
3. Take Spain and England as typical countries. Contrast the course of the movements in them, and the effects upon the nations.
4. Read Elizabeth's reign in any books you can obtain, and find out her attitude to the Counter-Reformation and her policy towards (a) Spain and Mary Queen of Scots, (b) France and the Netherlands.

CHAPTER XV

THE BALANCE OF POWER AND GROWTH OF NATIONS

By the end of the sixteenth century the mediæval world had changed almost beyond recognition. The individual nations of France, England, Spain and the Netherlands had grown too big to be held by the old idea of subordination to Emperor and Pope. In the South-East the Turks had established a vast alien empire. Only Germany and Italy were still confused and feudal, failing to unite in any real sense. Elsewhere a process that had been taking place during the Middle Ages had come to fruition, helped very considerably by the Reformation struggle. The nations had found themselves. They proceeded to strengthen themselves by all conceivable means, and to strengthen themselves relatively to the other nations by long series of wars and complicated diplomacy.

To be strictly accurate, we should perhaps talk in this period of states rather than nations, in the sense that the peoples had scarcely any of them become self-governing. It was the age of preparation for the passionate warfare for nationalism that took place in the nineteenth century, but the preparation

was very gradual and was taking place in states guided by powerful kings.

The states had grown in every case from loosely-knit feudal countries, and this influenced their growth enormously. Feudalism was useful as a stage, but if prolonged and uncontrolled, it involved great distress for the people and weakness for the country as a whole. The nobles were apt to become so powerful as to overshadow the king, and at the same time to become irresponsible, abusing their power and reducing the country to the miseries of anarchy. Each country of Europe knew this by painful experience, and each naturally wished to avoid these evils. The easiest solution was to strengthen the hands of the king so that he should be strong enough to prevent the nobles abusing their position. In Germany and Italy special reasons prevented this development, but in other countries it had its own way. The fortunes of France were bound up with those of her king, as we have seen, even in the later Middle Ages. Later kings and great ministers continued this policy. They humbled all competitors for power, neglected the states-general, and carried on the government by ministers appointed by themselves and by an organisation over the country worked by officials sent from headquarters. This official organisation is called bureaucracy, and it is a typical growth of the Continental nations as they developed. So absolute monarchies and centralised bureaucracies were the ideal of this period.

England alone stood apart from this ideal. The Tudors were strong rulers and aided the development of the country, but their rule was unlike that of the

Continental type in the way in which it rested on the people's will. Parliament was there, learning its rights and, when necessary, asserting its position. If generally it allowed to the King or Queen the royal will, it was because it knew the country was best served in this way. Also there was no centralised bureaucracy. Local government was carried on by magistrates and local councils which were chosen by the people. The difference was seen in the seventeenth century. An attempt to establish a strong monarchy of the Continental type was made, and with very little understanding of the peculiar character of the English nation. The result was the Great Civil War, the victory of the Parliament army, but the failure of the attempt to impose a military rule on the country. The restored monarchy was obliged to allow Parliament's claim to share in the direction of national policy, a claim that was further vindicated in 1688. Thus England was struggling towards self-government, while Louis XIV. of France was the typical great ruler of the age. He was the most absolute, luxurious, and splendid monarch of the modern world. His famous saying "*L'état c'est moi*" was received without laughter because it corresponded to facts. He gave his country plenty of glory and gain by continuing his predecessors' policy of aggression. France was, in the seventeenth century, undoubtedly the greatest country in Europe. Consequently men looked upon that type of monarchy as the ideal, and the way was prepared for the enlightened despotism of the next century.

As the nations grew larger, a new kind of international arrangement was needed. The mediæval idea

was outgrown ; a new one was developed by the working of national fear and jealousy. As early, as the time of Henry VIII. of England, it was mature enough to influence foreign policy when directed by Wolsey, and later it became generally accepted as the natural arrangement. It is called "the Balance of Power," and this is a very good name for it. It calls up the idea of a pair of scales, which is a convenient illustration. Imagine that at a given moment Europe is at peace, each state pursuing its own way. Then one state seizes another large territory. That gives her undue weight, upsets the balance, and threatens the safety of other countries. In those days men thought that a strong state would inevitably act the part of a bully, and injure the smaller ones. Therefore the only way out of the difficulty was for the other states also to seize territory to balance things, or for a league to be made which would be large enough to counterbalance.

This is the idea of international relations which has lasted till the present century. In this long period it has made history ; so that it is worth while considering a little what it involves. It means an atmosphere of continual suspicion, and in modern times of constantly increasing armaments. If A increases her army, then B must do the same—and so the process goes on for ever. It means secret diplomacy and constant deception, for by such means only can countries try to keep or upset the balance. It means the ever-present danger of war, and the growth of alliances and counter-alliances, which make war a vast and devastating catastrophe when it does come. It means that compensation is always sought in

slices of territory carved out of unfortunate small countries, or handed from one state to another, without paying any attention to the wishes of the inhabitants. There is no need to labour this point, for history is full of examples for those that have eyes to see.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain the ideal of government held in the seventeenth century, both on the Continent and in England. Give the reasons for this ideal.
2. Explain the phrase "Balance of Power." Take any period of modern history, and find [as many illustrations as you can of the working of this principle, and what it involved in each case.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM

THE most noticeable feature of this age was, as we have learned already, that nations were growing large and united enough to realise themselves as individual nations. They had outgrown the small-group idea, and had not yet seen the vision of a world unity. Their picture was of a number of small countries struggling to the light and fighting vigorously with the others who seemed to get in the way. Each government took, in these circumstances, every possible means of becoming stronger relatively to the rest. One way of doing this was to foster trade, and so increase the country's wealth. So a system was built up intended to carry out this purpose, and this is generally called the Mercantile System. It has been said by a great authority that the motive of the whole system "was the deliberate pursuit of national power," wealth being the means and power the end.

The building of any such system meant a great deal of regulation by the State, and the amount of this was a new conception. It had not been possible or even imaginable before, when manors and towns were comparatively isolated and self-supporting. Now it was both possible and necessary, as a result of a great

change that came over the economic life of Britain. Britain was no longer a collection of communities producing enough for their needs and occasionally having a surplus to exchange. It was a country knit together by an ever-growing trade within itself, and the development of localities with specialised industries was taking place. This movement meant that the small groups were broken up, and therefore no longer provided for the subsistence of their members. Gilds and manors had regulated production and helped the unfortunate members of their little societies. Now more far-reaching, wider regulation was necessary, and in the new life of competition for the open market the weakest went to the wall, and no one was responsible for their safety. So it happened at the same time that the Government wanted to acquire greater power by amassing wealth and controlling industry, and that the disorganisation of the mediæval system demanded the intervention of the State. In this way the mercantile system gradually arose.

There is one word of warning necessary here. It was not in the strict sense of the word a "system" at all; it was rather a series of laws passed over a considerable period of time as the result of many experiments in furthering national trade. Often laws were made and then repealed and replaced by others as they were proved unsatisfactory. The statesmen were uncertain as to the best methods, and so, though looking back we can see system in it—it was not a clear-cut arrangement put into force at once after coming to any one decision, and in this sense the word is misleading.

The regulations were, then, the result of experiment

and experience gained some time previously. Men were used to the laying down of rules as to wages, quality of work, and so on, and though most of it had been done locally, Parliament had undertaken an increasing amount of supervision. The Tudor period is roughly that of the greatest influence of the mercantile system, and by that time there had accumulated a considerable amount of precedent for industrial legislation. The Tudors thus based their legislation on tradition, and, carrying it further, achieved such success that their arrangements lasted until the industrial world was upset by the Industrial Revolution.

The power which the country wanted could be obtained in the sphere of economics by two methods of working. One way was to encourage shipping and regulate carefully international trade. With that we shall deal in the next chapter. The other, equally a part of the "system," was to increase the nation's wealth by encouraging production and seeing that each individual was working for the nation and was receiving enough to make for efficiency. This was done in several ways. New manufactures were introduced and nursed by the State till they were on a sound basis. At the same time severe laws were passed against those who were enclosing lands and turning them from arable to pasture, for this impoverished many workers and decreased the tillage of the nation. With the same idea corn laws were passed giving the preference to English over foreign corn, and laws were made ordering everyone to buy home-made goods, especially woollen goods. It was laid down in Elizabeth's reign that British subjects

should wear woollen caps to church, from the age of six upwards, and delinquents were fined each time they disobeyed. The new industries were helped chiefly by patents giving special privileges to those who undertook to introduce them. Salt and brimstone, starch and paper-making were all encouraged in this way, a way that was useful for a time, but was obviously open to abuse. It might be used unfairly and for the sake of gain, and it might stifle other attempts at progress in a similar direction. At first, however, the patents served their purpose.

One series of laws is even more important from a modern point of view. Besides a system intended to encourage industry, the mercantilists wished to see that every man was an efficient worker and sufficiently paid, from a national point of view. This led to the Statute of Apprentices of 1563, which frankly aimed at adjusting the fixed rate of wages to the greater cost of living. It did more than raise them for the time, it provided that magistrates should meet every year to settle the current rate. General conditions were attended to in provisions which gave security of tenure to the artisan, while at the same time migration was checked by demanding letters of recommendation on moving. Also future labourers were to be trained as apprentices, and men in suitable circumstances were forced to take lads to train in this way. This is a particularly good example of the way in which the guild system had broken down, and its work was being done by the State.

This was a preventive measure, but there was already in existence a large number of vagrants who failed to fit into the State's scheme of things. A class

of free labourers had arisen on the breakdown of the mediæval system, and many of this class moved about the country begging. This was a crime, and severe rules were made to deal with it. "Valiant beggars" were to be flogged and returned to their original village. Now for the first time a distinction was made in favour of those who found themselves forced to beg because they were genuinely unable to work. These had formerly, as we have seen, been provided for by the group of which they were part. Now the groups were broken, and they had no one to turn to for protection. The State then stepped in, and made the first "poor law." Those willing and able to work were to be given work and paid for it. Those unable to work must be supported by their parish. It was found impracticable to trust to voluntary offerings for the poor, so the idea was developed of assessing the inhabitants, and levying a rate which should give the necessary sum. Magistrates were to supervise the administration, and were given authority to build houses and material.

In this poor law, summed up in the Act of 1601, we have the principles which are still at work, though the working is not very satisfactory. There is the principle of local responsibility and taxation, each parish looking after its own poor. This may simplify organisation, but it may work unfairly. Rates are to be collected to be used for the relief of the helpless and for workhouses where those able to work should be obliged to do so. These houses have generally been mixed, all sorts of people living together,—an abuse that is now universally condemned: A certain amount of out-relief has been allowed, the amount

increasing enormously during the eighteenth century, until checked by fresh legislation. The administration is carried on largely by elected officials. The later history of the poor law will be considered in other chapters, but it is impossible to understand it unless the principles are grasped which dominated the Elizabethan poor-law. In another way, too, it is important, for it throws a light on mercantile methods that makes clearer the motives governing the regulations that have been mentioned here, and will be completed in the next chapter.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain the expression the "Mercantile System," and show its place in history.
2. Describe the regulations which aimed at increasing wealth.
3. Explain the rise of pauperism and the measures taken to meet it.

CHAPTER XVII

CHARTERED COMPANIES AND TRADE RIVALRY

FROM early times it was found safer in long trading journeys to join with others and so acquire support and strength. The Hanseatic League was an example of what could be done by combined effort. Quite early rulers had found it convenient in some cases to concentrate trade in the hands of one company. In this way the very important woollen trade was monopolised by the Staplers. But the period of companies came with the mercantile system, which used them as a keen weapon in its warfare.

The mercantilists inevitably favoured war, for their great aim, you remember, was power, and they measured their power by comparing it with that of other countries. They tried to increase the production, and so the wealth of their own country, as we have seen, but that was not enough. They had also to regulate international trade in favour of their own country. Especially would they take steps to increase shipping, an obvious source of power which could also be converted to naval purposes in time of war. To this end they would care for the fishing industry which, besides being a source of wealth, supplied hardy seamen to the nation. Mercantilists thought

no measure too small to claim their attention, so they made laws compelling the observance of Lent, not for religious but for political reasons. In Lent people were not allowed to eat meat, and this was good for the fisheries. They also introduced a protectionist system, forbidding the import of manufactured goods, and the export of raw material. The motive of this is obvious.

The mercantile system thus involved minute regulation and a permanent state of acute trade rivalry with other countries. This theory, in fact, worked with the Balance of Power theory to create international history for a couple of centuries, and to make it a history of wars and bitter strife. Sometimes it was a war of tariffs and prohibitions; often it was open war fought with armies and navies. It was the desire to evade the trade monopoly of Spain in the New World that was largely responsible for the struggle between her and England, which led to her downfall. Then the rival was the Dutch, and we fought them with Navigation Acts and three actual wars in the seventeenth century. There had been Navigation Acts before, passed to encourage shipping, but the Acts of 1651 and 1660 definitely aimed at capturing Dutch trade, and so directly caused wars. All shipping between us and our colonies and foreign countries was to be done in British or Colonial ships, and with crews mostly British. At the same time heavy import duties checked the Dutch fishing industry and trade. In the Dutch wars Holland was exhausted and fell behind, but another rival then arose, and then followed the long wars with France that marked the eighteenth century and are dealt with in a later chapter.

There were some who wished to keep large stocks of coin in the country, measuring wealth by money only, but the mercantilists did not make this mistake. They wanted what they called a "favourable balance of trade"; they did not mind exporting bullion (*i.e.* gold coin) so long as exports of goods exceeded imports, for this would secure a sufficiency of gold, and bullion was necessary for trade. This theory was thus better than the "bullionist" view whose place it took, though it in turn was to give way to the still wider "free trade" theory.

The mercantilist aim was to secure a favourable balance of trade and outrival other countries. Such views were held not only in England but in France and Holland and other countries. Each government tried to find means of attaining this end. And each found a weapon in the companies that already existed or could be founded on their model. Companies alone were strong enough for the purposes of this economic warfare, and they alone could carry on the rivalry in time of peace. Therefore states encouraged companies and gave them charters conferring on them the monopoly of trade with a certain place. So the companies came to play an important part in history.

They were of two types. The older type is called "Regulated," the later "Joint-Stock." In "Regulated" companies the traders paid entrance fees, then traded with their own capital and at their own risk, obeying the company regulations, and only benefiting by the permission to share in the monopoly. Of this type were the Russia Company, chartered 1555, the Eastland, dealing with Scandinavia,

the Merchant Adventurers, and the Levant Company. Of these the Merchant Adventurers were particularly successful, carrying on an extensive trade from the Cattegat to the Somme. Gradually the merchants found it better to combine their capital for a single voyage, and share the risk. From this they came to subscribe to a common fund which should finance many voyages. This was the common or joint stock, and the merchants were shareholders, while the directors became more important in the Company's business. It is a common type of business to-day, but it was new in 1600, and the first notable example of a joint-stock company was the East India Company.

Companies were undoubtedly necessary at this stage of development, because private individuals were not strong enough, and the states did not wish to be involved, to be obliged to appoint consuls, and so on. But the monopolist character of the companies met with opposition from the first. On one side were the advantages of the companies—collective bargaining, protection from pirates and in foreign ports, courts of justice in which to settle quarrels, control over dishonest merchants. On the other was the supreme disadvantage—the exclusive character of the companies. Even the less exclusive Regulated Companies had high entrance fees, while all shared the rigid and exclusive character inherited from the mediæval guilds. So that from the first the Chartered Companies had to struggle against “interlopers” or unauthorised traders of their own nation as well as rivals of other nationalities. And as time progressed and trade grew and markets widened, the companies outlived their usefulness and became a hindrance

because of their rigidity, in the same way that the gilds had become conservative and out-of-date. One company, the East India Company, had a different history, because it became political; but all the others became obsolete in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century world, and ceased to have any significance. The work of the companies was taken over by the Governments, and trade rivalry became a matter of national and colonial policy. The process of colonisation and development of colonial policy thus blended with and superseded the period of chartered companies, and with this we shall now be concerned.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain how Chartered Companies arose from the Mercantile System, and how they were used in international relations.
2. What are Regulated and Joint-Stock Companies?
3. What were the advantages and disadvantages of Chartered Companies? Account for their fall.

CHAPTER XVIII

COLONISATION

THE characteristics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we have seen to be the growing strength of European States, and increasing rivalry in trade. Governments encouraged companies to go to new lands or by new routes, and often they gave charters conferring on them the monopoly. In these circumstances it was only natural that men should think again of the colonising idea that we have seen occur to the Elizabethans. For colonies would not only extend the power of the motherland and satisfy her pride, but would be invaluable for trading purposes. Early explorers told of precious metals to be obtained, while later travellers talked of tobacco and tea. These could be cultivated by colonists, and the colonies would serve also as trading stations.

We know how Spain and Portugal were first in the field as explorers, and how they were given a monopoly of trade in the new regions. They also had, by the same decree, the sole right of colonising, and exercised it for a century. Portugal always cared more for trade than for sending settlers. A mixed race sprang up in Goa in India, and a genuine colony was planted in Brazil. This gradually de-

clined, however, from the very rigid rule of the home Government, and Portugal fell under Spanish power, and shared her decadence. Spain had a bigger opportunity, but equally missed it. The authorities were so anxious for precious metals that they neglected to encourage industry, and no freedom was allowed to the colonists. The result was that the real wealth of Central and South America was not developed, and that when the colonies won their freedom from Spain they were so unused to self-government that they fell into anarchy.

After the Armada the leadership was taken from Spain, and fell to the Dutch for a time, with England and France as rivals. The Dutch colonised systematically for trading purposes and no other. They obtained a monopoly over the Spice Islands and the Malay Archipelago, driving out the English settlers by the massacre of Amboyna, 1623. So strongly did they establish their influence in this region that it developed into political rule, and to-day the Dutch govern Java and several islands in the East Indies. On the mainland of India they had little hold, considering it less important than the islands. As a calling station they used the Cape of Good Hope, but the settlers found that the company cared only for trade interests. The same was the case with the New Netherlands—what we call New York and district—where the Dutch collected furs and other produce that came down the Hudson River for export to Europe. Trade was the single aim of the Dutch, and they rested content with what they won in this period.

The French throughout depended very greatly

on their home government, and the religious wars and foreign wars prevented very much being done till the time of Louis XIV. Before that time settlements were made where Jacques Cartier had explored, along the St. Lawrence valley (1608), and in Acadia or Nova Scotia (1605). Lacking help from home, the settlers had a hard struggle, but they succeeded not only in enduring hardship but in sending out exploring expeditions. Missionaries especially had wonderful adventures about which you can read in the thrilling works of Francis Parkman. The organisation was modelled on conditions in France, the whole centring round feudal manors, and being governed in the centralised way to which the French were accustomed. When the central government grew powerful in Louis XIV.'s time an effort was made to help the colonies more. Canada was peopled with new settlers. Daring explorers forced their way down the Ohio and Mississippi, claiming vast lands for France and preparing the way for the foundation of New Orleans. At the same time the East India Company was revived. So when the time of struggle came with England, the French held a strong position, and were firmly supported by the home government.

Very different is the history of British colonisation. The early schemes of Gilbert and Raleigh came to nothing, the earliest settlement being made in Virginia in 1607. The settlers were largely younger sons of noble families, adventurous men who wanted a change, with a number of yeoman followers. Such a colony naturally got into difficulties, from a dislike to uninteresting hard work, but they were rescued by Captain John Smith, a romantic adventurer who had

fought for Huguenots and Dutch, had been captured by Turks, and had altogether a very wild life. Smith became leader of the colony for a time, and it settled down satisfactorily into an aristocratic tobacco-growing colony. The significant feature was the summoning in 1619 of a representative assembly, by order of the home government to the Governor. It was a time of Stuart rule, which makes it even more remarkable that in this and every other British colony parliamentary institutions were at once established. Self-government has been consistently fostered by England, and that at times when no other colonising power thought of such a thing. The British colony was governed by an executive council chosen by the Crown, acting with the advice of a representative assembly which controlled legislation and taxation. In this way we have experimented in colonial policy, making mistakes sometimes, but working out the principles of freedom in a way which has proved very valuable to us and others.

Other colonies quickly followed. New England, founded by the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620, was of a sterner, more industrial type than Virginia, and claimed even the right of electing its own governor. Maryland was a Roman Catholic colony founded in 1632, and given full religious toleration. Variety of type and self-government were characteristic of the English colonies. The Commonwealth began to develop a more systematic policy, and there began the period when colonies were valued more for trade than anything else. This is the secret of the Navigation Act of 1651, of the Dutch War, and the conquest of Jamaica. Charles II. continued this policy, special

care being taken of the colonies in his reign. Carolina was deliberately colonised from Virginia. William Penn was allowed to establish a flourishing Quaker colony in Pennsylvania. The Hudson Bay Company was formed, to carry on trade in furs. New York was won from the Dutch, joining the line of English colonies. At the same time the East India Company was encouraged, and Bombay came to England as Charles' wife's dowry. England at this time frankly showed her policy. In return for protecting the colonies she reckoned to obtain some advantages in trade. Certain articles could be sent to England only, and the earlier rules as to shipping in British boats were renewed. This idea of gaining from the colonies was one universally shared at that time, and the English were just enough to give favours in return, such as crushing tobacco manufacture in England in favour of the colonists. At the time this policy seems to have been satisfactory enough, though trouble was to arise in the eighteenth century. It is noteworthy that throughout self-government was steadily encouraged in our colonies. It remained to be seen whether the French or the English type of colony would prevail. This was decided in the eighteenth century.

QUESTIONS

1. Trace and account for the rise and downfall of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.
2. Summarise the different views that have been held as to the value of colonies and the method of treating them. State which you approve, and why.
3. Study the position of the colonies mentioned on a map. Describe those that existed in 1688, and show to what type each belonged.

CHAPTER XIX

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WARS

By the beginning of the eighteenth century France and England were the two great nations with colonial empires. Spain and Portugal had declined, and the Dutch fell into the background, leaving the field for these two. France under Louis XIV. became, as we have seen, the greatest power in Europe, and she used her power in such a way as to become a menace. The Dutch especially were threatened. Louis had seized Alsace and Lorraine on flimsy pretexts from the Empire, and he proceeded to provoke the Dutch to war. Fortunately for this small nation, she found a leader and a hero in William of Orange, who devoted all his life and will to a fight to the death with the breaker of the peace. He obtained more strength for the combat by consenting to become King of England and master of her resources. In this way began the tremendous duel between France and England. There was no way then to restrain a State from abusing her power and hurting others, except by making war.

There were other motives that made for war, and which gradually prevailed over this one. The interests of the two countries clashed in trade and in colonial activity, and for these things also there has been

until recently no solution but the right of the strongest. The competitive instinct was very strong, each State trying to monopolise trade to the other's disadvantage. In this connection colonies were specially valuable, for the idea at that time was to gain special advantages from the colonials in the way of unrestricted trade, unburdened with any dues.

The spheres of conflict were North America and India, and in each the eighteenth century brought developments that made for war. In America the English had a line of colonies on the east coast, the mountains forming a barrier to the west. The French had taken possession of the St. Lawrence valley, and also of the west region down the Mississippi, to which they gave the name of Louisiana. They wanted to press east, and drive the English into the sea; the English wanted to cross the mountains and obtain more room. So there was a kind of No-Man's-Land between the hostile positions, over which there were constant quarrels.

In India the companies of each country had till now been content with the establishment of trading stations, for the Mogul Emperors ruled the land, and no invaders could hope to conquer such a continent. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Mogul Empire fell into decay, and many princes arose and fought amongst themselves over the various provinces. A clever Frenchman, Dupleix, began to get power for the French by taking sides in native quarrels, and making rulers grateful to him. The English saw this, and began to do the same thing, taking the opposite side, and so war was coming here too.

The result of this strain between the countries was a series of wars which we might almost call a new Hundred Years' War, for there were frequent wars between 1688 and 1815, and in each France and England fought on opposite sides, sometimes with allies, sometimes not. In the first two, which we call the English Succession and Spanish Succession wars, colonial motives were not yet very strong. The fighting was really a successful attempt to check the power of Louis XIV., but it had its colonial side. In 1713 we gained Nova Scotia, Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland. After this there was a period of peace until strife broke out in the Austrian Succession War (ended 1748), and was renewed in the Great Seven Years' War (1756-68). This was the time when Chatham was Prime Minister, and we captured Quebec and fought the battle of Plassey. By the peace we gained Canada and the control of large lands in India. The next war was that of American Independence (1776-88), when France joined the American colonies, and helped to defeat the English. There were yet two more, those of the French Revolution and Napoleon, and in these, as in the first of the century, other motives predominated, though a considerable part was played by the colonies.

There are several things to notice about these wars. Firstly, the command of the sea was the greatest factor in causing the result. We lost America because we lost our control of the sea for a period. In every other war the British Navy was supreme, and enabled communications to be kept up and reinforcements sent. Then the century's history is valuable as showing what people thought about colonies, and

how they wanted to treat them. The idea was still to reap advantages from the possession of colonies. Each country had some rules like our Navigation Act, which were made for this purpose. For instance, many products of the colonies were to be sent to the motherland entirely, to benefit her. England held this idea, but was wider in her policy than other states. The restrictions were less, and self-government was encouraged. Yet it was against England that there arose a revolt of her colonies in America, which ended in her defeat. The reason is well worth seeking. It is not that the American States were treated harshly, or that the grant of self-government was unwise ; if it were, we should have to change our policy to-day. It was because the colonists, accustomed to govern themselves, yet found that in some ways their self-government was not complete. They had representative assemblies, but these could not control the carrying out of the laws they made (what we call the Executive), and they could not decide their own foreign policy, or have a share in it. These things were done in England, and the discontent that was caused was natural in such a case. The question of taxation was a smaller matter, the real one was one of obtaining a fuller measure of self-government. This was not realised at the time, but we shall see how the lesson was learned, and how vitally it affected the happiness of the Empire in the nineteenth century, and is affecting it to-day.

There is another side to these wars as well as the colonial and naval—that is the European. We do not propose to study it here, as it is extraordinarily complicated and difficult. There is just one thing

we can find out, and that is the way in which they were conducted, and the reason for their history being so difficult. The answer is that in this century the theory of the Balance of Power was working itself out logically and completely. If we remember what this theory involved, we shall be interested to see its working in this period. There is one warning needed first. As historical students we must remember that this theory, even if we dislike it, was natural to one stage of the world's development. When Europe found herself in the Middle Ages, she invented an arrangement where there were two supreme rulers; this was the idea natural to feudalism. Then, as nations grew, the competitive idea grew up between them, and was probably necessary to their development. Now that we have a better idea, we can examine the old one, but in justice must keep our sense of time clear.

What is meant, then, is soon seen by one or two examples. There was a typical man of the age, Frederick the Great of Prussia. We shall hear more of him later; all we want now is to get some idea of his foreign policy. He began, after strengthening his army, by making war on a young Empress when she was weak, and taking a province from her. He made diplomatic excuses, but he owned they were false, and everyone else knew it. He obtained allies and set up a Pretender against the Empress. She got allies on her side. And the great Austrian Succession War was fought. Frederick kept Silesia. The people of Silesia were never considered, of course, by either side. Clearly Frederick kept a strong position by secret diplomacy of a most complicated

kind. Others tried to do the same, and there was deceit and counter-deceit ; there were alliances and counter-alliances, and frequent tearings of scraps of paper. Frederick made war again on the Empress, and finally there was the partitioning of Poland. This was a particularly cynical bit of eighteenth-century work, and deserves further attention. It shows how statesmen in this century cut and pared states like Dutch cheeses, as it has been said. We will consider this in the next chapter.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the influence of the colonies and of sea-power on eighteenth-century history.
2. Make a list of the wars dealt with in this chapter, showing in each the events in the colonies, and the result as regards them. Take care to use an atlas.
3. Read in any history book about the causes of the American War of Independence, and see if the facts make you agree with our idea of chief cause.
4. What do we think was wrong with international relations of the eighteenth century ? Give illustrations, and state the theory that caused these methods.

CHAPTER XX

POLAND

THE history of Poland has a tragic interest that is peculiarly alone, but besides this it has other features that should attract our attention. It is an excellent example of the nature and the results of eighteenth-century diplomacy ; it is the clearest instance of a nation ruined by the bad policy of its constitution ; and it explains (supplemented by nineteenth-century history which we study later) how the existing conditions have arisen.

The Poles were a Slav race having a common origin with those who settled in Russia and the Balkans. We have seen that they were of a quiet nature with little natural gift for organisation or love of war for war's sake. Yet circumstances forced them to conquer, to defend themselves against the foe behind, and their tradition is of a great conquering race. The growth of a separate nation of Poles as distinct from other Slavs is traceable distinctly to certain events in her early history. Once separate, Poland developed into a powerful kingdom, whose fall is a great tragedy.

The connection with the Balkan Slavs was broken by an invasion of Magyars who in the ninth century established the intervening State of Hungary. The

connection with the Russian Slavs lasted longer, but was severed by the settlement in the north and extension southward of a strong savage race, the Lithuanians, who drove the Russian rulers from Kieff to Moscow. The geography of the lands then tended to make the Poles communicate down their valleys with Western Europe, while the Russians more naturally travelled down to the Black Sea and the oriental world. This tendency was accentuated by the conversion of each nation to Christianity. While the Russians accepted the Greek Orthodox faith which came to them from the Eastern Empire, the Poles were persuaded by Roman Catholics from Western Europe. So the states, inhabited by kinsfolk, were divided, and became ready to make war when their interests should clash.

A great kingdom of Poland was set up at the end of the tenth century, possibly with the aid of wandering Northmen. This was later split up into practically independent provinces, and fell partly under German influence. German peasants were encouraged to settle in Poland, and the Emperor claimed to be overlord of the princes. The State of East Prussia was established in the thirteenth century by a German crusading order, the Teutonic Knights, and so formed an outpost of Germany situated almost in Poland. Against these military adventurers Poland and Lithuania combined, and from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century a Lithuanian dynasty ruled in Poland, providing for the most part strong and capable rule. A famous victory was won over the Teutons at Tannenberg in 1410, and a kind of protectorate was established over their state. Even

when Albert of Hohenzollern, Grandmaster of the Order, secularised the country under his rule and began its connection with Brandenburg (from which sprang the State of Prussia), East Prussia remained subject to Poland for some years. In the sixteenth century Poland was a state worthy of European notice. It extended from Riga north of the Dvina to within a comparatively short distance of Moscow. Its eastern boundary was roughly from this point south to the west of the Crimea. It included Galicia and West Prussia, in which were the valuable cities of Danzig, Posen and Thorn. It was a vast territory ruled by a capable house, and yet there were already seeds of decay.

The constitution was the ruin of Poland, and the chief cause of its rottenness was the fact that it was not national, but rather that of a conquering race. The peasants were gradually forced deeper and deeper into a state of subjection to the land-owning nobility who were descended from the conquerors. Cruelty and oppression became the order of the day, and the nobles lacked the idea of working for the interest of all. The result was an extremely weak state organisation, with all the characteristics of feudal kingdoms at their worst. The king was elective, which meant that, unless exceptionally strong, he was the tool of the nobles who chose him, and in order to secure his election, he was obliged to make weakening concessions. By the end of the sixteenth century, when the Lithuanian dynasty had given place to rival factions, the monarchy had reduced itself to powerlessness, and everything was in the hands of the nobles. Feudal "estates" or assemblies had been

formed in order to obtain money more easily, and a national diet was finally established. But this was never a success, and never developed into parliamentary government because the nobles disliked it as threatening their dignity, and the townsmen reserved their energy for local and provincial affairs. The diets were disorderly and often ended in a free fight between the followers of the different nobles. Above all, it was unbecoming for any noble to give way to another, therefore there was no such thing as a minority submitting to the wishes of the majority. Every decision had to be unanimous, a custom which resulted in the absurdity known as the *liberum veto*. Any member of the assembly could block proceedings completely by giving his vote in opposition, since unanimity was necessary. So, at the time when other states were growing stronger in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Poland was becoming more and more anarchic, and more open to foreign interference. It was very easy for ambassadors of interested powers to bribe members to obstruct measures they disliked. Helplessly the country declined. "In the end, as we shall see, she was not conquered, but partitioned—divided up among her neighbours like a thing ownerless and dead."

The first partition took place in 1774, the chief actor being Frederick the Great of Prussia. The Empress of Russia had succeeded in obtaining great influence in Poland and in putting her nominee on the throne. An attempt to abolish the *liberum veto* was forbidden by the allied powers, Russia and Prussia. A Prussian diplomat told his king, "It is to your Majesty's interest that Poland should remain in its

present state of anarchy." So that reform was deliberately checked by the unscrupulousness of the Powers. Then a war broke out between Turkey and Russia, and threatened to involve most of Europe. Frederick had had enough of war just then; and he thought out a scheme of avoiding it and obtaining territory at the same time. (You remember how the acquisition of territory was one of the great aims of the eighteenth-century statesmen.) The three most interested states, Prussia, Russia and Austria, should compromise on Turkish affairs and compensate themselves with Polish land. This was the arrangement that was actually carried out. Each partitioning Power obtained a large slice of the doomed country, Prussia acquiring West Prussia to round off her lands, and Austria Galicia. Thus was accomplished what has been called "one of the most shameless acts of an age that was not over-scrupulous."

Once this process was begun, it was easier still to continue. Poland tried hard to reform herself, and drew up a remarkably good constitution, but events were too strong for her. The French Revolution came, and Prussia and Austria made war on France, while Russia was occupied with Turkey. But in 1792, Russia settled her Turkish troubles and turned to Polish affairs. Both she and Prussia had guaranteed a free constitution in that country, but treaties were not likely to stand long in the way. A Polish reactionary party called in the help of Russia, which was very readily sent. The new national army of Poland fought gallantly, but it was a forlorn hope. Austria was kept busy with its French war, but early in 1793 Russia and Prussia signed the second Partition

Treaty. The unfortunate country was almost helpless, and an insurrection led by a Polish patriot only gave the three Powers an excuse for the final partition. Poland no longer existed on the map of Europe. She had fallen a victim to her own folly and her neighbours' greed. Never did robbers so openly avow their principles, for it was a time when anything was justified which strengthened the state, and state selfishness was a virtue.

QUESTIONS

1. Trace the old boundary of the kingdom of Poland on a map, and compare the boundaries of to-day.
2. Explain the downfall of Poland as carefully as you can.
3. Compare the government in the seventeenth century of Poland, France, and England. What were the defects of the Polish constitution?
4. Show how the fate of Poland illustrates the state morality of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER XXI

ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM

WE have seen already how peculiar England was in her system of self-government, as the Continental ideal was that of a strong government capable of suppressing feudal anarchy. Louis XIV. was the great example in the seventeenth century of what this meant, and a whole system came to be established in many countries after this model. Colbert was the minister in this reign who carried out most reforms. He laid great stress on home industry, encouraging it as much as he could. To help this he wished to remove the restrictions on trade between the different provinces, and he sent assistance to the colonies. But, unfortunately, he was never able to carry out all his ideas, so that there were left many causes of irritation which eventually led to the French Revolution. Above all, his desire to strengthen French trade at the cost of others led to war. And war naturally ruined his work.

The idea lived, however, of the duty of rulers and their ministers to think out and execute reforms in their states. Rulers were to be despots in the sense that they were absolute and above the law, with power to do as they pleased. But they were not

to be brutal tyrants or oppressors, they were to be guided by a supreme sense of duty. So men planned in the eighteenth century, and the idea became widespread and universal. It was an age of great philosophers and writers about politics and the science of government. The Renaissance and Reformation movements had come to an end of their great period of importance. Their influence was working still in this century, making men consider old problems in a new light. It was an age of many scientific discoveries, which made necessary a new interpretation of old beliefs. All this new knowledge in science and philosophy was summed up together in the word "enlightenment," and no fashionable person could afford to be unenlightened, or unacquainted with the writings of the day. Therefore, all writings concerned with the government of states were eagerly read, and influenced the European world very greatly. Also, because of the same circumstances, when the writers talked of despots they meant enlightened despots. Their ideal rulers were to be in close touch with the "enlightenment" in their countries and others, and were to devote their lives to putting the new ideas into practice, and spreading the knowledge of them through the land.

Bolingbroke, the politician of Queen Anne's time, wrote, in accordance with these theories, a charming treatise on the "Patriot King." Voltaire, one of the most influential of French writers, upheld the same idea in his many books and in his advice to the French and Prussian Courts. In some ways it was a most attractive doctrine, and it certainly served a useful purpose. None of the European countries were

ready for self-government, and meanwhile a wise ruler was the best possible possession. To us it has certain obvious disadvantages. In a hereditary monarchy no one can be sure of obtaining a good king, much less an enlightened one, and his despotic power can easily be used for evil. Also the work would be done always from above, not by the people; it would give no training in self-government, and might often be mistaken. Very often, again, rulers of such states were tempted to use their power in making their countries great in territory and military fame, which was not necessarily good for the people. The reforms of an enlightened despot were to increase the strength and glory of the state and ruler, not primarily to help the people. We can understand this better by studying the measures taken by the various rulers of the eighteenth century—for there was a veritable harvest of enlightened despots.

There was a series of such rulers in Prussia. Frederick the Great's father did a great deal of the kind of work involved, and Frederick himself carried it on, settling firmly the character of the Prussian State. Between them they abolished any competing powers in the state, making everything depend on the central authority. To carry on the work of government, supreme councils were established, responsible to the king and him alone. These councils were closely watched by the king, and they, in their turn, supervised the operation of innumerable officials acting in different capacities throughout the country. It was a very complete bureaucracy. Special attention was paid to the army, which was made efficient and strictly disciplined. Every enlightened

despot required this as a weapon. Finance was also overhauled, for the despot needed money, but his people must not be so exhausted as to be useless. For the same reason the prosperity of the people was increased by the draining of marshes, the building of roads and canals. Efficiency was also secured by the establishment of schools where the humblest could learn how to become useful tools for the Government. Altogether, the material welfare of the country was carefully watched, but the reforms were all for material purposes. The Church could not be allowed to set up a power rival to the State, so it was made subordinate and submissive. The king was a true despot.

In this summary of Prussian reforms we find the features common to all. Austria was ruled by two reforming despots. One was Maria Theresa, from whom Frederick stole Silesia ; the other was her son Joseph II. There is no need to go into their work in detail, for we know what it would be. There was the same centralisation, and establishment of a bureaucracy ; the same conscript army ; the same tendency to abolish financial privileges and make taxation scientific ; the same encouragement of industry and agriculture. Joseph went further than his mother, carrying everything out to its logical conclusion. He said himself, " I have made Philosophy the legislator of my Empire. Her logical principles shall transform Austria." Unfortunately this meant that he neglected to adapt theory to existing conditions, and utterly ignored the feelings of the people. Many of the reforms proved to be irritating, and serious revolts took place. His own verdict of his success was

expressed in the epitaph he suggested for himself : " Here lies the man who never succeeded in anything he attempted," and this is substantially true.

Equally startling were the changes introduced in Russia by Peter the Great. He not only adopted a vigorous foreign policy, extended his frontiers, and made Russia a power in Europe for the first time, giving her access to navigable seas ; he also introduced a despotism of a Western type instead of the uncivilised absolutism that he found. He established a small senate as a central executive, in place of the old *duma*, and in the Church saw that the Synod was presided over by a lay official. He created a new bureaucracy and a new nobility. Externally, at least, the country was transformed in his reign, and it has been left for critics to argue as to whether this gigantic work was for the good of Russia or not.

These are the most striking instances of the working of the system, but the same sort of thing in smaller measure was taking place all over Europe. The theory undoubtedly influenced George III., and Louis XVI. genuinely tried to be a patriot king. But before the end of the century its day was over. The nations were waking, and the people demanded a share in the work of reconstruction. England gave the world an example of self-government in working. The birth of independent free America made Europe think and envy. It remained for an idealist nation to rise inspired by the teaching of philosophers of a newer school, and bring despotism to the earth in a frenzy of enthusiasm. Once this was done, enlightened despotism would no longer be the ideal. It was actually accomplished by the French Revolution,

with which we begin a new age of intense interest and vital importance for Europe both then and now.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain what is meant by "enlightened despotism."
Give illustrations from eighteenth-century history.
2. State the advantages and disadvantages of this system.
3. Say briefly what ideas prevailed before and after this period, and show if you can how one grew out of the other.

CHAPTER XXII

FRANCE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

FRANCE in the eighteenth century was an unhappy country ; unhappy owing to evils, social and political, which enlightened despotism could not cure. These caused a feverish excitement which, denied any natural expression, led to a great outbreak which, in its turn, caused a great upheaval throughout all Europe.

The country was, as we already know, ruled by an absolute monarch, descendant of the rulers who had vanquished the French Parliament. He chose his own ministers, who were responsible to him alone, and the council formed by them was the governing body of the State. They saw that the king's decrees were obeyed, and, for this purpose, they had agents in the provinces to attend to local details. So there was no effective self-government even in the town or district, but everything was highly centralised ; royal command took the place of representative government. The agents, called Intendants, dated from the time of Richelieu. They were obliged to refer constantly to headquarters, causing waste of valuable time and opportunities, and they were often men who squandered public money or took it for

themselves, who oppressed the people and acted as petty tyrants. Against these there was no redress, for a special kind of law was applied in cases concerning officials, making justice almost impossible to obtain, even if the aggrieved could afford the great cost of the proceedings.

The bureaucracy was a curse to France, and no less an evil was the noble caste. The class divisions were deep and terrible. Every descendant of a noble, whatever his degree, was himself a noble, and entitled to all the privileges of his rank. These privileges were many, and, though they were originally a reward for political services, they might be regarded at this time as a consolation for being excluded from political work. Certainly the nobles as a class did no state service at all, while their social privileges remained. Their estates were vast, and were often kept in a wild condition for the sake of hunting, regardless of the interests of the nation. To live on his estate was for a noble a mark of poverty or disgrace; he spent his time at court. There everything was luxurious and splendid, but the splendour was purchased by the misery of the peasants. The nobles escaped practically all taxation; it was their privilege, but the money had to be furnished by the poor who lived on their estates.

There was no middle class except the officials and a small section in the towns. There was a tremendous unbridged gulf between noble and peasant, and the typical peasant existed miserably. His land was wretched, and any improvement would mean increased taxation. He was burdened by feudal dues, by forced labour on the roads—generally high roads he never

used—by the necessity of using his lord's mill, wine-press, etc. Some feudal burdens had been removed, but this only made the people feel those that remained as a greater oppression. The peasant's house was often a windowless mud-cabin, his food black bread and chestnuts, his clothing mere rags. He heard of the gay life at Versailles ; he was ignorant, but he knew enough to realise his misery. He was often a peasant proprietor, owning a tiny piece of land, but that only made him more aware of the unreasonableness of the feudal oppression to which he was subject.

There are several conditions which are generally found to breed revolution. There is always great unrest and discontent, generally with social conditions, and, at the same time, sufficient prosperity to raise men above animals and enable them to realise their condition. There has to be an absence of any effective means of action other than revolution ; and finally, there is practically always the spreading abroad of a revolutionary idea for which men are willing to risk their all.

All these were found in eighteenth-century France. There was misery, and the knowledge that it existed. There was an entire absence of any constitutional method of obtaining relief. The soil was thus well prepared, and on to it fell the seed of the political thinkers and writers of the age. From this grew the Revolutionary Idea which was to struggle so long with despotic Europe. Moderate criticism had prepared men's minds for the realisation that theirs was by no means a perfect Government. Men had questioned the foundations of society and of religion, refusing to accept anything that did not accord with

reason, and "thinking" men discovered serious defects in the organisation of France at that time. To this Jean-Jacques Rousseau added the fascination of new ideals that would involve the reversal of the existing order. In the "Social Contract" he taught that the people had voluntarily agreed together to have a king over men, but that they remained the sovereign power, expressing the "general will" of the people, and could at any time depose the king if they wished to. This idea was contrasted with the inferior and slavish position actually held by the people, and the reader of Rousseau's book was naturally led to desire a radical change which would agree more closely with this agreeable theory. Rousseau's book was forbidden, but pedlars hawked it round in their packs, and by 1789 France was full of his ideas, often only half understood and made more harsh by the bitter experiences of the people who heard them.

To add to the difficulties of the situation, a series of bad harvests increased the general misery, and a young, kindly king, Louis XVI., came to the throne. His gentle character, unfortunately, made him raise hopes that he was not strong enough to fulfil, and his wife and court, very reactionary in character, prevented by their influence any satisfactory solution. National money affairs were in a critical state when Louis came to the throne. Only a certain amount could be wrung out of the poor, and a large proportion of this went to the pockets of the tax-collectors, so that while the people suffered, the treasury got little. The management of finance was very badly conducted, and the great wars of the eighteenth century had drained the resources of the country. The king

saw that something must be done, so he summoned to his help a man named Turgot, a keen reformer, and one of a number of men who believed in certain new teaching about economics. These men were called Physiocrats, and the influence of their thought spread all over the Continent and to England. Their idea was that the land is the source of all wealth, that agriculture is the vital national industry, and that the ideal system of taxation would be that of a "single tax" on land. Everything else was to be free from any toll; the infamous "Gabelle"—forcing each person to buy so much salt at a ruinous price—would be abolished, as would be all tolls throughout France; the *corvée* was to disappear, and all would share in taxation, no privileges being allowed. Much of this was very good, but Turgot was not tactful enough, and his attempted reforms met opposition from those interested in maintaining the old system—opposition so strong that it eventually caused his dismissal.

To him succeeded in turn a wealthy banker who got credit for the State but created consternation by publishing the national balance-sheet, and a reckless adventurer who led France so near the verge of bankruptcy that the king was forced eventually to summon the States-General. This was a body which originally resembled our Parliament, but had been reduced to impotence and had not existed for 150 years. Naturally, no one knew from experience what a States-General was like; the king asked for information, and was overwhelmed by showers of pamphlets. The country was greatly excited by the idea of a General Election, and each small district was encouraged to draw up a list of grievances, and

proposed reforms to help their elected deputy. The result was that discontent crystallised, great hopes were raised, which could never be fulfilled, and the nation seethed with political agitation.

Even yet no great disturbance would have taken place for some time had the provinces alone been concerned, but when the Assembly met in Paris, the agitation came to a head, and the Paris mob, wrathful at some foolish manœuvres of the king, suddenly rose and stormed the Bastille. There were not many prisoners there, but the Bastille symbolised an arbitrary government under which men could be sent to prison indefinitely without trial, so that its fall was vastly important and thrilled the whole of listening Europe. It remains to see if Louis XVI., enlightened despot, could satisfy his people's demands, how the Revolution, thus begun, affected other countries, and how far its work was lasting in its importance.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Sum up the evils in Pre-Revolutionary France. There must have been some point in the system. What was it? Would it be to the interest (1) of some, or (2) of all, to maintain it?
2. From your knowledge of the conditions find out the probability of the Revolution running a quiet or disorderly course, and think what the effect on Europe would probably be.
3. Is this stage reached by French society one that is peculiar to France? Do you know anything similar elsewhere?

BOOKS

- A. YOUNG, *Travels in France*. (Everyman Library or Bohn.)

CHAPTER XXIII

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

WE have seen how the early ideal of one world- (*i.e.* European)-empire had passed away under the pressure of the growth of the individual nations, and how instead men sought to hold together in a state of equilibrium or balance the different nations that had come into being. Instead of one empire, a system of states became the idea of statesmen, and each nation developed its own character as it grew. England came after the throes of the "Great Rebellion" to be regarded as the home of liberty and as the great trading nation. France, as we have seen, went on a very different course, sacrificing liberty to the pursuit of power and glory. These two countries could not help coming into contact, and we know how their meeting brought a succession of wars during the eighteenth century. France all the time was silently suffering the agonies that brought about the Revolution. The new France was bound to influence England. What we must discover now is what contemporary England was like, and whether she, too, was in a state of crisis.

After the Civil War and Cromwell's rule, England passed for a short time to the Stuarts again, until

James II. aroused bitter opposition, and he fled to make way for William of Orange. The 1688 Revolution was bloodless, and Parliament in its statutes tried to talk as if there were no change except a reversion to the state of things before James introduced his abuses. There was a change, nevertheless. Never again would an English king be quite in such a position as that of the Stuarts. Everyone knew now that the king owed his throne partly to his birth, but largely to Parliament, and the knowledge influenced events considerably.

Yet we must not exaggerate ; everything happened very slowly, and a twentieth-century Englishman would think very little of the measure of self-government won by his forefathers in the eighteenth century. William III. chose his ministers as he liked, and always acted as his own foreign secretary, and the change was very gradual. Gradually the party system developed with all its advantages and disadvantages, and it soon became obvious that the most convenient Government was that by men who all belonged to one party, an arrangement that has only been abandoned sometimes in coalitions. Foreign kings came to the throne, who at first could speak no English, so that the Cabinet came by degrees to be a recognised institution, and Walpole first occupied the position of its Prime Minister, though he refused to accept the name. Gradually it came to be the custom for the Cabinet to stand and fall together on all questions of importance, and parliamentary government became more like the system we know.

But in the eighteenth century all these changes were by no means firmly established, and it was

possible for a resolute king like George III. to put the clock back for a long time. He was determined to rule, not merely reign, and conceived it to be his duty to do so. There was no longer any question of doing without Parliament, but George thought that there should be in the Parliament a national party that should look to him for inspiration and guidance. He formed a party, but it never became the only one, and the result was that the king was now a party leader pulling the strings from outside the House, and the way in which he rewarded his followers led to the "King's Friends" being noted for corruption and indifference to the national interest. Then he secured an amenable Prime Minister in North, and finally a popular hero with whom he could manage to work, the younger Pitt. Pitt was, as were practically all the members, a Whig, and he began his career as a reforming peace minister.

There were many things in need of reform. Parliament there was, but it was corrupt and unrepresentative. It had gained power at the cost of the Crown until George III. came to share its authority, but parliamentary rule was the rule of the aristocracy, and its despotism was by no means an unqualified blessing. A seat in Parliament had for a few centuries been a privilege, so noble families had bought up where they could the estates that would give them votes. Cromwell had abolished much of this influence and redistributed seats according to the changes in population, but his work had been undone. "Pocket boroughs" were owned by peers; "rotten boroughs" were open to their influence. Voting was public, and the voters were liable to be intimidated. The

franchise was uneven, some towns having for electorate the Mayor and Corporation, some practically the whole population. The result was that the Parliament was representative of the upper class only, and it often enacted laws in its own interest that harmed the artisans.

It was, perhaps, the king's intervention, and the ease with which he carried out his policy, that raised the idea that reform was needed, but reform would be an act of self-denial, and, before it could be brought about, there was to be a mighty social revolution.

England in the first half of the eighteenth century showed as regards industry only a slow natural development on the lines already laid down. The woollen industry flourished ; other textiles were made in lesser quantity, the manufacturing being done sometimes in a rather primitive factory, but generally on the domestic system which we have already examined. Coal was mined a little, but iron was smelted with charcoal, as much was not needed.

Then, one after another, inventions were produced, by which machinery could be made to economise labour. First of all water-power was used, and mills sprang up by the sides of rivers, then steam-power was utilised, and great towns grew up round big factories. Machinery was dear, so factories were needed to use it ; it was no longer possible for home industry to compete satisfactorily. Men who had the money or credit bought the necessary tools and raised the buildings, then got others to work for them for wages. There had been capitalists before, but now the day of capitalism had fully dawned, and with it a new world of industry arose. The change was very

great, and at the time people generally did not realise what was happening. Especially the worst abuses only gradually became unbearable, and they will be considered in a later chapter, but we can stop here to picture the England of 1789, to which came the news of the taking of the Bastille. The great change was taking place, but was by no means complete. Factories were being built, in which there was a new division of labour; men were some of them crowding in to work there, some of them rioting and breaking machines because the machines, they thought, took their livelihood away from them. The coal industry was given a great impetus, when iron began to be smelted by coal, and the great coalfields of the north were attracting more and more crowds, crowds that lived in quickly-built hovels in hastily-made streets. The roads and bridges and canals were being engineered on a new and improved system which enabled the products of one place to be sent cheaply and quickly all over the land; in other words, the market was widened. At the same time agriculture was undergoing changes startling enough to be called revolutionary. The movement that had been slowly progressing now made rapid headway,—the movement of using root crops, and so managing the rotation of crops that no land needed to be left fallow, and produce was greatly increased. Keen interest was aroused in new methods, and societies were formed to spread the new teaching. The remnants of the old open-field system were found to obstruct progress; commons and waste-land were a temptation to the energetic, and the result was that enclosures greatly increased in numbers, Parliament readily passing the

necessary Acts, since the injured peasants were unrepresented in it. The small farmer was subjected to such severe pressure that he succumbed and found it easier to give up his independence and work for a wage on a big estate. Thus in the country as well as the town wealth and power were rapidly passing into the hands of the few.

Men were too near to the change to realise it in its entirety, especially in its earlier stages. Possibly the Government may have seen, but the ministers were men of their age, and believed in the theory of their age, that things were best left alone. The best should survive, they thought; competition meant progress, and State interference would only be harmful. This "laissez faire" doctrine was preached in France in the eighteenth century; it led Turgot to favour free trade, and in England in the works of a great economist, Adam Smith, it influenced Pitt and the whole generation. The result was that no attempt was made by the State to intervene in any way; the revolution was allowed to take its own course, and only one effort was made to relieve the distress caused to many of the population, and that, unfortunately, only made matters worse. This was the way in which the magistrates tried to relieve the poor by their administration of the poor law. Some of them met at Speenhamland in Berkshire, and declared that they considered such and such to be a decent wage, and that if the farmers would not give it, the deficiency should be met from the poor law money. The farmers gave as a result low wages, the population was pauperised and demoralised, losing all idea of thrift, and those who paid poor rates were often so

heavily burdened as to be more wretched than the actual paupers. Improvement did not lie in this direction.

Distress, then, was beginning to be acute among the poor both in town and country as a result of the "Industrial Revolution." No remedy was apparent; the Government deliberately did nothing. It was evident that the revolution was in 1789 only beginning; no one could foresee the end. There should have been an outlet for discontent in Parliament, but that was unrepresentative and corrupt, managed by the landed aristocracy in their own interests and influenced considerably by the king. Men had hopes of Pitt, but he had not done very much by 1789, when the great news came from France.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Compare and contrast the condition of France and England, politically and socially.
2. Was George III. in any ways an "enlightened despot"?
3. Consider what can be done to make easier for the people a great change in industry.

BOOKS

POLLARD, *History of England* (especially Chapter VII.).
(Home University Library.)

Piers Plowman Histories, vol. v. (social) and vol. vii. (political). (Published by Philip. 1s. 8d. and 2s.)

The English Nation—Industrial and Social History.
MEADOWS. (Bell, 2s.)

CHAPTER XXIV

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

WE turn now to the development of the French Revolution. It is a thrilling story in itself, but we will study it, not for the sake of the story but in order to let it teach us things that will help us to-day. So we want to keep in view—

1. The character of the Revolution, the idea that caused it, and how this explains what happened.
2. The influence of the Revolution on other countries.
3. The question as to how far the work of the Revolution was permanent and can be traced to-day.

In all this we shall include Napoleon, since his work followed so closely that of the Revolution.

Now we must learn the facts and trace the way in which one event led to another. At first it seemed as if it might be possible for a new era to begin quietly, for abuses to be abolished and progress made without strife to a more liberal government. There were scarcely any in the Assembly who wished to keep things as they were, and all were looking to the king and his ministers for a lead. None at that time were avowed republicans. But there were many difficulties. The king was frightened and hesitating, very often losing a golden opportunity by listening to the

reactionary advice of his wife and her friends. His ministers were not equal to the occasion. The deputies themselves were inexperienced ; they wasted much valuable time, and because they had no " standing orders " confusion reigned in their meetings. One outstanding man there was, Mirabeau, a magnificent orator, a man of culture and political experience, but, unfortunately for the nation, his earlier career and private life had given rise to so many scandals that he was never trusted either by the people or by the Court enough for his advice to be followed,—advice which would have saved France much suffering. Other leaders refused to work with him, and the advice he secretly sent to the Court was paid for but neglected. His policy briefly was—That Louis should accept the abolition of the old *régime*, should go from Paris and the dangerous Paris mob to another city, *e.g.* Rouen, where he would declare himself leader of the Revolution, and at the same time protector of order and the national peace, and, if necessary, make war on Paris, overcome it, and inaugurate the New France. But Mirabeau was never trusted, and Louis was not a strong enough man to carry through such a programme.

Instead, he hesitated and contradicted himself, while things got more and more hopeless, and the mob more and more hostile and impatient. At first he wanted to make the three orders—Nobles, Clergy and Commons—vote separately, in which case the Commons would be out-voted. The Commons declared themselves to be the National Assembly, and, when the king caused the doors to be shut against them, they adjourned to a tennis-court and swore they would

not separate until France had a constitution. Then Louis gave way, but tried to surround Paris with troops, and it was this that caused the Fall of the Bastille in the riots of 14th July.

The next piece of work was the abolition of the old order of things,—serfdom, *corvées*, tithes, etc., in a series of resolutions (4th August). The constructive work consisted in the constitution, establishing a singly-elected chamber, and a monarchy of limited powers, but most significant was the “Declaration of the Rights of Man,” which prefaced the rest. There we find what the French Revolutionists were out for—first of all, the destruction of the old system of oppression and absolutism, then the establishment of the principles of freedom, equality, and justice, not only for Frenchmen, but for all men. Certain rights they declared to be the birthright of everyone, and there we get our first glimpse of the propagandist nature of the Revolution. The idea at the bottom of the Revolution was fairly well summed up in the famous catch-word, “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,” though the stress was laid always more in France on the second than on the first of this trio. And these conditions were an ideal to strive for, to give to other peoples, to go on a Crusade for.

So much was dimly realised from this time, in 1789, but efforts to bring about a peaceful constitutional change were continued till the end of 1791. Then Mirabeau died, the Court fled in the direction of the frontier, rousing suspicions that they were hoping for an army against France, and a new Assembly was elected of entirely new and inexperienced members.

In 1792 a decidedly new turn was given to events.

The new Assembly returned a considerable Republican party, partly young idealists full of enthusiasm for a new world (the Girondists), partly the more extreme but more practical party (the Jacobins) resting on the support of the clubs and containing men like Danton and Robespierre. There was still a constitutional party, but their aims were not so definite and attractive as those of the new party, and the Girondists soon became supreme. Their enthusiasm for their principles led them directly to favour war, as a means of propaganda and of helping peoples to overthrow their rulers. And the Prussian and Austrian governments helped to bring about war, by threatening to intervene in Paris to save Louis and his Austrian wife. In 1792 the Girondist ministry in the name of France declared war on Austria, and therefore upon Prussia, the ally of Austria.

Foreign war was the thing Mirabeau had dreaded more than anything else, and it certainly altered the character of the Revolution very vitally. It alienated the people from the Court, who were undoubtedly intriguing with the enemy, and so ended any idea of the new France being ruled by Louis XVI. Every reverse on the front made the people more suspicious of those in power and of possible spies in the shape of the noblesse, and this led directly to the Reign of Terror and the guillotine in 1793. The early defeats also made strong organisation at home a necessity, so that great power was given to the revolutionary committees, and political liberty was subordinated to national safety.

The results were wonderful. A supreme war organ-

iser arose in Carnot; a marvellous army was formed of volunteers who fought for their ideals with such vigour that the allies were hurled back and the Netherlands were overrun in 1794. The allies were not as yet fired with an idea to fight for, except a desire of their governments for tracts of land, and this often led to quarrels between the allies, not vigour against the enemy. In France this enabled the Terror to be overthrown, and in 1795 there was established instead a government of five men called the Directory, with two Houses and a very complicated constitution. The Jacobins made a last attempt to regain their power, and to quell them the Directors called in a young lieutenant of artillery, Napoleon Bonaparte, who ended the riot with a "whiff of grapeshot."

The Directory was soon busy, fighting royalists at home and the greater Powers of Europe abroad. An army (under Napoleon) won great success over Austria in North Italy, 1796, and the Government reaped money and glory, but the general was inclined to be independent, and himself negotiated a treaty with Austria, 1797. Going back, he was greeted as head by the French, and to acquire further laurels he went on an Egyptian campaign. His fleet being beaten at the Nile by Nelson, he hoped to march through Syria and Constantinople back to Europe, but was stopped at Acre by Sir Sidney Smith. Then, on receipt of news from France, he returned quickly and found his time had come. The Directory was feeble and corrupt, had alienated all parties, and disgusted the nation, and now was defeated in Italy and on the Rhine. With very little difficulty Napoleon over-

turned the Government and took control of affairs as First Consul, 1799.

From this date the outline of events will be familiar. After a short victorious campaign Napoleon made peace with Austria in 1801, and with England at Amiens in 1802. This is the time of his best constructive work in France, and sees the germs of his best policy with regard to other countries in Europe, points that will be considered in more detail in another chapter. But he was restless and refused to be satisfied with the great position he had won for France and for himself. Evidence of this—provocative action in Italy and Switzerland, expeditions of enquiry to Egypt and Australia, accompanied by a virulent press campaign—led England in self-defence to refuse to abandon Malta, and war was renewed, 1803.

Napoleon's great aim was to crush England, his most constant enemy; but he had an army, while England was an island and had a navy, so that the contest has been compared to that between an elephant and a whale. He had three great alternative plans, and each was defeated in turn. First of all, he wished to attack England in her colonies: that was the idea of the Egyptian campaign, and we have seen how that failed. Then, 1803-5, he tried the plan of direct invasion, but the French fleet, blockaded in various ports by the English, never got free all together, and never got the necessary command of the Channel which would enable the French army to cross. Napoleon gave up the idea before the Trafalgar campaign, and Trafalgar shattered for ever any hope of a French invasion.

The third plan was to destroy English trade and starve her into surrender by forcing all Europe to shut her ports to the English, under the Continental system. He crushed Russia and Austria at Austerlitz, 1805, and Prussia at Jena, 1806, making victorious peace at Pressburg and Tilsit. Russia was to come into the Continental system; the Czar and Napoleon would divide Europe between them. The north of Germany was put under French control and Prussia severely punished, all with the same end of crushing England. But the Continental system bore hardly on the peoples, they saw Napoleon as an oppressor, and from that moment his fate was sealed. Spain and Portugal resisted his power, and the Peninsular War exhausted his best armies, 1808-18. Russia enticed him to Moscow, 1812. Prussia and Austria had, under almost impossible conditions, reorganised their forces, and the War of Liberation culminated in Leipzig, the Battle of the Nations, 1813. Napoleon was reduced to the defensive, 1814, and found that even France was no longer whole-hearted, so he abdicated and was sent to Elba. The story of the Hundred Days and Waterloo is an astonishing epilogue, but made little difference to Europe. St. Helena, instead of Elba, became the place of exile, 1815. The last and desperate plan to defeat England had, by raising the forces of nationalism, proved Napoleon's ruin.

QUESTIONS

1. Why do you think the French people accepted Napoleon as Emperor?
2. How far do you consider these wars to be for France and how far for Napoleon?

3. Does the history of this period show the importance of having the great *idea* on one's side in war?
4. Trace the main stages of the development of the Revolution, showing the influence of foreign events and home policy on each other.

Books

- MALLET, *The French Revolution*. (University Extension Series. 3s. 6d.)
- H. A. L. FISHER, *Napoleon*. (Home University Library.)

CHAPTER XXV

FRANCE AND ENGLAND

HAVING followed the course of the French Revolution and Napoleon's brilliant career, we wish to see now how these events influenced other countries, and, first of all, our own. England was in a superior position on account of her parliamentary institutions, but we have seen that these were by no means perfect, and the Industrial Revolution was causing great distress. The question, therefore, was whether the sudden changes in France would, by example or direct action, bring about similar movements in England.

At first the rising of the French against oppression was watched with sympathy. Conscious of being the nation who could call herself the home of liberty, the English were pleased that others should begin to share the same joys. Fox, one of the Whig leaders, exclaimed at the good news when he heard of the fall of the Bastille. Poets and thinkers rejoiced, believing that a nobler, more ideal world was coming. Wordsworth wrote afterwards, describing his feelings at the time :

“ Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven !—Oh ! times,

In which the meagre, stale, forbidding ways
Of custom, law, and statute took at once
The attraction of a country in romance !
When Reason seemed the most to assert her rights,
When most intent on making of herself
A prime Enchantress—to assist the work,
Which then was going forward in her name ! ”

So most generous spirits welcomed the advance to freedom of a sister country, and statesmen looked on benevolently. Yet while the Revolution was still in its peaceful constitutional phase, and Mirabeau was alive, men were found to begin the cry that it was a thing of horror which English people must utterly condemn, and against which they must take strong precautions. This opinion was voiced by Burke, one of the leaders with Fox and Pitt of the Whigs, and in many ways one of the greatest of his time. He misunderstood the situation from lack of knowledge of French conditions, and insisted that such a complete break with the past must be evil and would lead to anarchy. His ideal was that of the 1688 Revolution in England ; he failed to see that there was no basis for such a proceeding in France, that a sudden break was necessary and inevitable. So he wrote in 1790 his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, praising the British constitution as if it were already perfection, and condemning entirely the French efforts, and especially the idealism which inspired them. He was a practical man and refused to talk in abstract terms ; he also saw the unhappiness of the French Court, and ignored the misery of the peasants. In his book he roused public opinion against the French, both in England and other countries. He must be held

partly responsible for the allied declaration against France which led to war, and war helped to create the chaos he prophesied. Prophets of war are often true prophets, because they create the suspicion which calls it forth ; they fulfil their own prophecies.

Pitt, however, steadfastly refused to interfere with French domestic affairs. He was hoping that affairs there would settle down into order and harmony, while war was so far from his mind that he said in 1792 : " Unquestionably there was never a time in the history of this country when from the situation of Europe we might more reasonably expect fifteen years of peace than at the present moment." As a sign of his sincerity, he reduced the army and navy vote in that year. Less than twelve months afterwards he was proposing in the House that preparations for war should be undertaken. This remarkable change was due to the provocative action of the French, seen in the promise to help rebels against their kings, in the opening of the Scheldt, and in the execution of Louis XVI.

So, in 1793, war broke out between the two countries, and the course of events has been sketched elsewhere. Here we want to notice the effect on England at the time. This was altogether unfortunate. Pitt and his party had planned a series of reforms, parliamentary and financial reform taking the chief place. Finance, of course, became not better but worse as a result of the war, and instead of lightening burdens Pitt had to use his skill in increasing them. Parliamentary reform was postponed for forty years, badly as it was needed. Measures against the slave trade were the only reforms undertaken. More than that,

there was actually a reaction. A certain number of enthusiasts founded societies in sympathy with the French Revolution, in which they talked vaguely of liberty and republicanism, but with earnestness of parliamentary reform. These harmless societies were exaggerated until the Government believed there was a well-organised conspiracy on foot, and took stern measures against it. The Habeas Corpus Amendment Act was suspended for years, so that men who were suspected of being dangerous could be imprisoned without the certainty of fair trial. A Scottish Convention which was peaceably discussing reform was broken up, and five of its leaders were sentenced to fourteen years deportation. Only one survived and returned to England. English reformers in their turn determined to hold a Convention, and twelve leaders were immediately arrested. The Government had allowed itself to be deceived by spies, who reported exciting plots in the hope of payment, and was in a panic. The people had a year or two earlier been in terror too, and had injured innocent idealists in their rioting, but by now they had become sane, and in spite of the Government the twelve were acquitted amid great rejoicing. A conviction would have meant that any criticism of existing conditions would be counted treason, and so one of our most treasured liberties, that of discussion, would have been destroyed. The case has been dealt with at some length because it is typical of the loss of proportion and sudden terror that often attacks a people in time of war. Other examples were such measures as those authorising the use of militia to suppress riots, and very wide powers dealing with writings that seemed

seditions, and even chance-phrases spoken in coffee-houses.

Looking back, we can be glad that Britain remained free from the wild and destructive spirit of France, since our history made possible a more gradual revolution. At the same time we must regret that our antipathy to French methods went so far as to prevent the carrying out of sensible reforms and to encourage blind reaction. Pitt was the leader of the nation, and he shared in this fault, just as he shared in the splendid persistence which entitled him to be called "the Pilot" who weathered the storm."

QUESTIONS

1. Describe and discuss the attitude of Burke and Pitt towards the French Revolution.
2. What was the importance of the case of the twelve men? Sum up the effect of France on England during this period.

CHAPTER XXVI

NAPOLEON'S WORK IN EUROPE

NAPOLEON, at the height of his power, ruled not only France but a very considerable portion of Europe. (Find a map of the Empire in 1810.) He adopted a certain policy of treating other countries; this made a vast difference to Europe not only at the time, but for all time, and it is for us to discover the principles on which he acted.

First of all, there was France, shaken to her foundations by the Revolution, eager to entrust her fortunes to the successful general who at least had proved himself to be a capable man. It remained for Napoleon to prove that he was not only an efficient general, but a great statesman, and that he undoubtedly did. He understood the situation before him. He saw that the old *régime* could not be restored, and he did not wish it. He saw that a great deal of the work of the Revolution had rooted itself firmly in the national life; that never again would France lie down under the heel of the noble; that social equality and the abolition of tyrannical institutions had come to stay. Political liberty and self-government as we understand it, the people would not insist upon, but the Government, to be stable, must rest upon their consent.

Socialism was not yet a force in the world; the Revolutionists respected the idea of private property, and were content with ensuring that the bulk of the peasants became small proprietors, mostly obtaining their lands from confiscations at the expense of nobles or the Church.

Napoleon was able to realise all this, and he acted accordingly. Each important stage of his career was marked by a plebiscite of the whole people, so that his rule was always resting on a popular foundation. The revolutionary land settlement was undisturbed, and the social changes, especially the equality of opportunity, established by the Revolution were carefully maintained. One other part of the revolutionary idea he adopted, and that was the passion that had been raised for national self-realisation in power, in land, and in prestige. France always connected the thought of the Revolution with the memory of victorious wars and a Rhine frontier, with the feeling of a national crusade. This desire was fulfilled by Napoleon, and to a far greater extent than the French ever really wished, but they were intoxicated with the quest of glory.

In these and other ways Napoleon acted as heir to the Revolution, and this was the position he always claimed. But there were other principles of his that modified the revolutionary character of his rule. Napoleon had read Rousseau in his youth, and thoroughly imbibed his doctrines; a little later he was a Jacobin, a friend of the Robespierre family. But he always loathed anything like anarchy or disobedience to authority, and he at once hated and feared the mob. He saw the mob besiege the Tuileries, he

saw Louis XVI. come out wearing a tricolour cap and bow to the multitude—a sight he never forgot. Never did he lose his terror of mob rule, never did he lose his military instinct for order and domination. So that his rule was as orderly and as absolute as any of the old *régime*, and the people submitted willingly; they were tired of confusion and party strife.

These are very roughly the broad principles by which Napoleon moulded his policy at home. In detail his work was wonderful, and we can recall one or two of the most striking pieces of statesmanship to illustrate his theory.

First of all, the everyday work of government and administration had to be organised under the new order, and this was done on a system of strict centralisation. The French have never been as enthusiastic over local self-government as the English, so here Napoleon was only carrying on tradition, but it was by accident that this was so; the vital point is that centralisation harmonised with his theory of government, as being above all orderly and capable of being inspired by himself as ruler. So the local officials were appointed by the Central Authority; the legislature was weak; most of the work was done by the Emperor's organ, his Council. The same principle was applied to Education, when all schools and colleges were connected in one central body, the "University of France," which was to see that all children were brought up to be useful and obedient servants of the State, good soldiers or capable mothers.

The same idea was at the root of the "Concordat," the agreement with the Papacy. The Church had been greatly disorganised by the Revolution, and

many villages had two priests—one the old one now displaced, one the official minister recognised by the State; the same happened with bishoprics. The Pope, of course, claimed to be the only authority who could appoint priests. Napoleon simply turned out all claimants on both sides, and chose new ones, the Pope conferring the office on the ones pointed out, in return for certain concessions. Napoleon was not himself very religious in sentiment, but he recognised the power of religion, and decided it must be with and not against the State, and that it must be largely controlled by him, as head of the State—once more an illustration of his methods.

Above all, the Emperor infused his own energy and vigour into each department of the national life; he was indefatigable in inspiring all work that would favour good government, even to the smallest detail. He, who had no legal knowledge, presided over committees that drew up the Napoleonic Code, one of the most remarkable collection of laws in our time. Before all had been chaos, now all was reorganised on a uniform and sound basis. Much of Napoleon's work in France has survived to this day; he was working on the right lines, and France would have been happier under him than under anyone in 1815 if she could have had his rule without the restless ambition which lured him on to endless wars, and exhausted the nation.

The benefit that other nations derived from Napoleon is more questionable. Certainly much loss in men and in material was caused, certainly the interests of other lands were always subordinated to those of France. But there is another side to this

question. It is possible to hold that several nations owe much to Napoleon, especially that Italy and Germany would have found their unification much more difficult had he never been.

Napoleon's earliest campaign was in Italy, and as a result of it he secured the Peace of Campo Formio (1797), which contains the germs of his Italian policy. Lombardy was organised in a new republic under the protection of France, and in this state were included various little states. Venice was partitioned, but later Napoleon redeemed his promise and, taking Venetia from the hated Austria, added it to the Kingdom of Italy which grew out of the Cisalpine Republic. This kingdom never included all Italy, but it included enough to involve the breaking down of many petty barriers to freedom and unification. The old order was shaken and could never again be so secure. The new administration was excellent, and gave Italy new ideals of efficiency and progress. A civil service was trained that did yeoman service in the great struggle for freedom in later years. And, above all, the enthusiasm for Napoleon as the liberator roused the people, and the name of Italy inspired them. So that while we must admit a great deal of spoliation and selfishness, the verdict must be that to Napoleon Italy owes a very large debt for the impulse he gave towards unity and freedom.

Germany and her connection with Napoleon is a more difficult problem. In the years 1797-1808 Napoleon showed his policy towards Germany as a whole. He rejoiced over the loose confederation he found there, and took advantage of the rivalry between the different states to bind them to France. So in

the south and west he helped to destroy numerous petty princedoms, and by giving these territories to the larger states he won their co-operation. This developed into the Confederation of the Rhine, again a loosely-knit organisation which Napoleon allowed to be feeble in all but two things, its ability to provide him with men and money. He attempted no reforms but such as were necessary to these ends—he was using, not altering, the weakness of the existing system. There were other states that he put under a strictly military rule—the circumstances differed considerably. Napoleonic statesmanship was here, as elsewhere, largely a conflict between his original excellent ideas and the self-seeking that gradually came to spoil his work. We can see the first in this declaration of his: “We are emancipated and the Germans are enslaved; we are practical, and the Germans are idealists. Each of these little states ruled by us must be a model of reasonable contrivance, a seed-plot destined to refine the whole political vegetation of Germany.” On the other hand, ambition whispered to Napoleon that these conquests must be used for the advantage of France, and that the weakness of the Constitution was providential and must be encouraged for the sake of the French.

Napoleon wished to conquer England by the Continental blockade, and the coast of Germany was essential to this system. It would be bad for the Germans, but the ambitious voice urged him to be ruthless, and it won. Prussia was at last goaded into revolt, and Napoleon deliberately crushed her. The idea of exploitation won the day. For Napoleon himself this was tragic, for it led to the marvellous

resurrection of Prussia, the War of Liberation, and Leipzig. For Germany in some ways it was tragic too, for much of the good he had done perished with the bad, and there was a strong reaction. Yet, politically, a great simplification had been carried out, and, though a reaction took place, "none of the work of 1808 has ever been undone, and many of the results of the victory of Austerlitz are still marked upon our maps. Indeed, without the great winnowing-fan of the Napoleonic wars to scatter the chaff and sift the grain, who knows if the political unity of Germany would ever have been attained?"

QUESTIONS

1. How far is it true that Napoleon "is a scourge. He purges the floor of Europe with fire"? What does Europe owe to Napoleon?
2. Was Napoleon's downfall due to "supreme power destroying the balance of his judgment"? Can you see the temptations of his position? What safeguards against such a situation could be secured?

BOOKS

FISHER, *Napoleon*. (Home University Library.)

ROSEBERRY, *Napoleon: the Last Phase*. (Nelson. 2s.
From which quotations in questions are taken.)

CHAPTER XXVII

THE SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE, 1815

NAPOLEON was in 1815 finally defeated, surrendering himself to the British Fleet. There were some people who loudly clamoured for his death, but this demand was wisely rejected, and a safe place of exile was found at St. Helena.

With him fell the Napoleonic Empire, the empire which had injured the liberties of peoples and had extended further than even French interests really required. The boundary-lines drawn by Napoleon were wiped out ; the map of Europe had to be re-made. It seems to modern critics to have been a splendid opportunity, a time when almost anything could have been done, and when a settlement might have been made which by its justice and elasticity would have proved permanent. Yet we must not forget the difficulties that faced the statesmen of 1815. First, their hands were tied by secret treaties that had been made during the progress of the war ; the allies had by their greed and lack of public spirit made very difficult the work that they now had to face. Then the problems before them were very complex, such as could not be solved by any rigid rule.

There was the problem of France, exhausted,

defeated, at the mercy of the allies. She had accepted Napoleon, the bugbear of Europe, as Emperor, had fought for him, and been proud of him. She was proud also of having by her Revolution originated ideas that had so much disturbed the politics of the Continent. But it was the defection of the French Generals, the perverseness of the French Assembly, and the growing apathy of the people that had helped to achieve victory for the allies. Were the French people to be crushed as a dangerous and defeated nation, or were they to be pitied and reinstated as the victims of a tyrant? It was certain that France would no longer be allowed to dominate Europe, but would she be permitted to return to her position of 1789, or would she be further punished? This was the first question that had to be answered. Fortunately for the world, it was answered in a conciliatory spirit. France was to have her frontiers of 1792, which took away her conquests, but enabled her still to be a great country. Troops were to occupy French territory until the allies were satisfied that order was secured, and that France would no longer be a menace to the peace of the world. Then she could take her place again, a nation renewed in spirit. Such was the decision, and its statesmanlike wisdom was due largely to the attitude of Great Britain. It was proposed to take away from France Alsace-Lorraine which she had acquired in the seventeenth century, but Wellington protested that the loss of these provinces would embitter the people and render impossible the reign of a prince restored under such conditions. As it was, Louis XVIII., the Bourbon, had a sufficiently hard task. This

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counsel won the day, but this solved only one problem.

There was the question of Italy and of Germany, of Poland and the Netherlands. Italy was without much hesitation placed once more under those who had ruled her before the Revolutionary armies had marched into the land. All Napoleon's work, good and bad alike, was undone, and Austria, the traditional enemy already of Italian freedom, gained even more power. This is a typical piece of the work done by the Powers at Vienna. They tried to make Europe revert to the conditions that prevailed before the outbreak in France had put fever into the blood of the peoples. Being then all-powerful, the diplomats succeeded. Europe was doctored and patched up and persuaded to behave in a calm and collected manner. But the doctoring was superficial; it did not take away the fever or the causes of irritation that had made the outbreak so severe; it merely ignored them. The result was that under the calm outward appearance there was left lurking a spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction which, after various unsuccessful attempts, was at last to break out again and undo all the work of 1815. The history of the nineteenth century is largely a history of the means by which men overturned the "settlement" then made, and proved it to be no true peace.

This fact, and the knowledge that the process of undoing these men's work involved great wars, suffering, and the loss of great men's lives, must not make us too harsh in our judgment. We must realise that they were after all men with natural human weakness, bearing sincerely and honestly a

great burden. They were diplomats sitting round a table, unsupported by the nations, since the peoples were unrepresented, and it was this very source of weakness that was the chief cause of failure. Democracy, liberalism, and nationality were the watch-words of the coming century. It was the rising of the nations that had defeated Napoleon, and the peoples waited their opportunity. But the statesmen only paid lip service to these ideals, only realised dimly the great forces at work, and they went on working on the old, old lines. The result was catastrophe for the world, a long delay in reaching the next stage of development, and great losses involved for humanity.

The old ideas were revived—the fallen dynasties were to be replaced, ruling by the sanction of the principle of legitimacy, and between the different governments relations were to be resumed according to the idea of the Balance of Power, which allowed considerable greed and selfishness. We have seen what this meant to Italy, put back under the Austrian yoke regardless of her wishes. Belgium was in a similar way joined to Holland, a union that was destined to be very short-lived, for it was repugnant to the people.

Poland, whose unhappy fate we have partly traced, was not restored to independence, but neither were the arrangements of the partitions maintained unaltered. Part of Prussian and part of Austrian Poland was joined in what was called the "Congress Kingdom," and put under Russian control, the Czar promising good government and a certain amount of autonomy. Castlereagh protested in the name of England against this arrangement as being a half-

measure, neither independence nor annexation, which would leave Poland an open sore until it would "either be deliberately destroyed or perish at the hands of his successor." Castlereagh was a true prophet, and we may indicate briefly here the later history of the Poles. The constitution given them by Alexander, in itself very liberal, pleased no single party, and the Poles, finding no outlet for their discontent, intrigued in secret societies until 1830, the year of Revolution in Europe, when the very efficient Polish army turned against Russia. The result was bound to be a Polish defeat, however brave its army, if no Power came in on its side, and the Powers were steadily neutral. As a result the Czar frankly ruled Poland as a Russian province, carrying on a process of Russianisation which culminated in the great insurrection of 1863, again an unsuccessful revolt, as the Powers could not bring themselves to intervene. The policy of repression could not succeed, however, and the Polish peasants were the backbone of the National Democratic Party which, by its action during the Russo-Japanese War succeeded in obtaining some measure of representative government in Russia. This, however, proved unsatisfactory, and it still remains for Poland to establish herself.

The fate of Poland has been dealt with here partly for convenience, but partly in order to illustrate the way in which the 1815 settlement, by ignoring nationality, created difficulties, fostered wars and insurrections, and bequeathed us problems which we in the twentieth century have yet to face.

This is the greatest fact with regard to the terms of peace, but there were two other arrangements involved

which bore important fruit later on. Austria, unwilling to return to close contact with France, refused to take back her territory in the Netherlands and Western Germany, demanding instead a stronger hold on North Italy. This meant that the Hapsburgs were abandoning their duties as guardians of the Empire, and becoming less German, more purely Austrian, a policy that culminated in her ejection from the new Germany of Bismarck.

Prussia, on the other hand, in spite of Austrian diplomacy, succeeded in obtaining considerable territory in Germany, and especially on the Rhine, which consolidated her position and enhanced her prestige in the German Confederation. She was brought into touch with the South, and her long frontier lines obviously demanded some understanding with her neighbours as to tariffs. These were features which, as we shall see, were of the greatest importance, since they were almost necessary to Prussia in her task of uniting Germany. They were the weapons afterwards wielded by Bismarck. Austria was retiring from the leadership of Germany, Prussia was taking her place, though the complete substitution was not to be made without a struggle.

So we have the scene made ready for the drama of nineteenth-century history. We see the promise of popular movements in Germany and Italy to gain unity at the expense of the foreigner; in France, to obtain vengeance and regain her glory and her lost Rhine frontier; in Belgium and Poland, to gain independence; and throughout Europe a desire for expression of the ideals of liberalism and democracy.

QUESTIONS

1. Draw a map of Europe in 1815, indicating by colour the regions where the 1815 settlement would be felt to be unsatisfactory. State briefly the reasons for dissatisfaction in each case.
2. What were the ideas held by the 1815 diplomatists that explain the mistakes made ?

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE HOLY ALLIANCE

EUROPE was, in 1815, by the Peace of Paris, once more restored to her old rulers, who were inclined to look upon the upheaval of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars as a very bad nightmare, from which the world now had awaked with relief, to take up once more its ordinary life. In accordance with this tendency, the diplomatists took it for granted that the relations of country with country should go on in the old way, by alliances, counter-alliances, and the theory of the Balance of Power, foreign policy being mostly conducted by kings and ministers chosen by kings.

One modification was the natural result of the war. The allies who had fought and defeated France ought, according to the ideas of those days, to remain allies as a measure of defence against any renewed danger from France. In 1814 they had nearly come to blows among themselves when Napoleon's return from Elba made them hastily forget their differences and unite again. This dissension was a thing to be avoided, it would be much better for the victorious Powers who had Europe at their feet, to continue in concert to direct the affairs of the Continent which they had

re-made. So an alliance was made, of the ordinary type, but unusually important, binding together England, Austria, Russia, Prussia, in what is sometimes known as the Quadruple Alliance. These four Powers were so supreme that a new idea developed which in some way superseded the old ones, namely, that these four, having so long fought for Europe, might now keep up their alliance in order to maintain the order they had won. This idea of a "Concert of Europe" had been suggested as early as 1791 by an Austrian minister who urged that all governments should "make common cause in order to preserve public peace, the tranquillity of states, and the faith of treaties." Such work, continued after the war, might become permanent, and might end in preventing wars by establishing an International European Confederation. Such was the dream which came to statesmen in 1815, and it seemed likely to change the machinery of world-government. It remained almost entirely in the world of dreams, and we want to see why, and whether the idea failed because it was bad in itself, or because of unfortunate circumstances. There is one caution necessary. Always distinguish very clearly between the two alliances—(1) the Quadruple Alliance of the four big Powers who were so important as almost to rule Europe, and (2) the other idea of an alliance which should become a "Confederation of Europe." The first was an old idea, practical, and for a time successful; the second was a new idea, proving to be at that time more visionary than practical.

The man who was foremost in trying to make this new alliance was the Tsar Alexander I. of Russia.

He had at one time (Tilsit) allied with Napoleon, then had quarrelled with him, had undergone the Moscow Campaign, and since then fought with the allies. Many men have written about him, and come to very different conclusions, but certain things all agree to be true. To begin with, he was extraordinary ; and besides this, he was a man who could be fascinated by an idea and make a sincere but hopeless effort to carry it through, only, very likely, to be attracted by another idea that pulled in the other direction. All this had been made worse by his education, half on the lines of military discipline, half on the teaching of Rousseau and the "enlightenment" of the eighteenth century. In addition, Alexander was influenced in 1815 by some people who taught that life should be guided only by religion of a rather visionary kind, according to which the Tsar was a heaven-born messenger who had been given the task of bringing Europe peace, and ruling her on the principles of righteousness.

It was with these ideas that Alexander went to the Congress of Vienna ; it was owing to them that he arranged to be the protector and liberator of Poland ; and, above all, it was due to them that he issued his scheme for the Holy Alliance. In this unusual document he proposed that each ally should swear to their willingness to join together in order to ensure peaceful brotherly relations with each other, based on Christian principles, and to secure, both at home and abroad, the ordering of the nations in a way that fitted members of one Christian family, with gentleness and charity. Every monarch of Christendom was invited to join in this alliance, suggested by the

powerful "Tsar of all the Russias." The influence of Alexander caused many monarchs to sign this document, but we can imagine a good deal of sneering laughter among those in diplomatic circles who were accustomed to look upon things from a very different standpoint, and with a different code of honour. For reasons of policy, then, kings signed the alliance, all but heathen Turkey, who could not join a Christian effort, and England, who confined herself to a friendly letter from the Prince Regent.

The attitude of England is very important, for it was this that eventually broke up the Holy Alliance. It came not from any jealous wish to stand outside a confederation that would make her less important—the Regent's letter showed that—but from a suspicion as to its nature which later events justified. It was easy to become enthusiastic over the idea of a world-alliance which would stop war and cause everything to be governed with justice, but it was evidently a very different thing to try to put the idea into practice. Begun by the Tsar, an autocrat, joined by Prussia and Austria, both autocracies, and by various other states all ruled by kings, it was clear to English statesmen from the first that the alliance might become an instrument for the reaction in Europe, a weapon against the liberty of which England had grown to be so proud. The kings were to maintain each other in their just rights, which meant that the Holy Alliance was founded on the principle of legitimacy, the rule by kings in strict hereditary succession. Then how could England, ruled over by a usurping line put on the throne in a revolution, with the aid of a powerful Parliament and Cabinet, possibly join in such a Holy

Alliance ? It would be to condemn the foundations of her own Government and to abandon the privileges she had won by years of struggle. Therefore, while being the mainstay of the Quadruple Alliance, England was from the beginning distrustful of the Holy Alliance, and, as its true character developed, she broke with it more definitely.

The kings of the Holy Alliance were to meet together in conference to discuss questions that arose and see to the application of the principles of the alliance. Several congresses took place, and it is by studying these that we can see the alliance in working.

The first congress was at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, where the biggest question was one which all agreed was a problem that must be discussed by all, and that was the fate of France. France had been occupied by allied troops until she became a settled country capable of governing herself without danger to Europe. France claimed that this time had come, and the congress was to decide upon it. Owing to the cleverness of the French statesmen, not only was the occupation of France removed, but she was invited to join in the discussions of the Powers, not, of course, the Quadruple Alliance that was directed against her, but the great Powers of the Holy Alliance. This period shows what has been called the most serious effort ever made to provide "the transparent soul of the Holy Alliance with a body." Though failing from jealousy to come to a decision on sundry small questions, the Powers united in action in Germany as well as with regard to France.

In 1820 there were revolutions in Europe, first in Spain, then in Naples, and the Powers met to consider

the situation. By this time Alexander had undergone one of his characteristic changes. Disappointed by the attitude of Poland, indignant at mutinies and plots in his own country, he came to the Troppau Conference ready to use the Holy Alliance as a means of putting down revolution in any shape or form. This was already the guiding idea of the clever Austrian minister Metternich, who worked with all his might to keep things as they were and guard against "the Revolution," whose forces he greatly exaggerated. So Metternich rejoiced to hear the Tsar declare his repentance for his liberal views of a few years back, and used all his personal charm and clever diplomacy to persuade Alexander to work with him, who personified conservatism and legitimacy. The result was seen in the document written at this congress and signed by Austria, Russia and Prussia. This said among other things, that any State undergoing a revolution which might disturb Europe would cease to be a member of the European Alliance until she gave guarantees of order and stability. "If, owing to such alterations, immediate danger threatens other States, the Powers bind themselves, by peaceful means, or, if need be, by arms, to bring back the guilty State into the bosom of the Great Alliance." The Holy Alliance was now openly converted into a confederation of absolute monarchs pledging themselves to take action against any revolution to interfere in the internal politics of other nations.

The clearness of the declaration could not allow of doubt, and it brought with it the weakening of the Alliance. England refused to sign any such document, France gave only a general consent, and the signs of

the end appeared, though so far England did nothing but protest. Action was taken by the signatory Powers, the revolutions were suppressed, but the union was not to last much longer. The Greek War of Independence broke out, and the reactionary Metternich wanted to intervene, but England and France refused to allow it, and in the end helped Greece to gain her freedom. The Holy Alliance was broken, in appearance now as well as in reality, and England under Canning took a more definitely liberal attitude. The sway of Metternich was no longer undisputed, but his ideas lived in many men's minds. The century saw many a conflict between the old diplomacy and legitimacy on the one hand, and liberal foreign policies and the rising of peoples on the other. The Holy Alliance was dead, having never had a very substantial existence, but it was an important attempt, and left important legacies to Europe in general.

QUESTIONS

1. Compare and contrast the idea of the Holy Alliance with that of mediæval world-government. Can you account for the change?
2. Sum up the advantages and disadvantages of the Holy Alliance as they might be seen by an English statesman of the time.
3. Examine carefully the conditions under which the alliance was made, and see what it was that made for failure. What alteration would have to be made in order to make a scheme such as this successful?

CHAPTER XXIX

REFORM AND AGITATION IN ENGLAND

THE Holy Alliance failed because it was in opposition to the forces that were to be the dominating motives of the age—an overwhelming desire for the fulfilment of nationality and democracy. For the same reason reactionary policy in Great Britain failed, and after many struggles the new movements prospered.

We have seen in previous chapters how much need there was of reform in the parliamentary system, and of strong measures to check the evils of the factory system. We know how during the French wars all idea of reform was abandoned, the Government instead being ready to give way to panic at all suggestion of change. At the same time, and during the first part of the nineteenth century, the theory of *laissez-faire* taught that industrial affairs should be left to work themselves out. When the war came to an end, unfortunately the same policy was continued. In the eyes of the Government reform was dangerous, because it might, they thought, disturb the existing order and lead to revolution. So stern measures were taken, and discontent was driven underground. A reform meeting, held at Manchester, was broken up by troops, because the magistrates lost their heads.

In the fray several were killed and many injured. This is known as the massacre of Peterloo, 1819 ; the Government actually supported the action of the magistrates. They passed the Six Acts, which restricted such rights as that of public meeting and free discussion. Discontent grew apace, and reformers came to hate Castlereagh and Eldon, the leaders of the Government, who blocked all their efforts and repressed just demands.

The first step towards better things was taken when the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed. These measures of intolerance were so out-of-date that a custom had grown up of passing an Act every year pardoning those who had broken them. This absurdity was now ended. The repeal of these laws made the Irish Roman Catholics hope that the law forbidding them to sit in Parliament would be altered. Ireland had been united to England in 1800 as a result of the rebellion which endangered England's safety in the struggle against France. The Union had been carried out with much bribery and with a promise that Catholic emancipation should go with the Act of Union. The non-fulfilment of this promise had caused Pitt to resign office, and it roused great agitation in Ireland. O'Connell founded a powerful association, and, after much trouble, his work was rewarded in 1829 by the grant of Catholic emancipation. The English Government gave way rather than risk another Irish rebellion. So toleration was now complete, and the modern doctrine prevailed that no one must be penalised for his religious beliefs.

In England discontent was growing steadily, and after the fall of Liverpool's ministry in 1822 there

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was more hope of reform. Canning took an enlightened view of foreign policy, as we know from studying the Holy Alliance, and he and his friends made a considerable advance. The conditions causing disturbance were mostly industrial. The new conditions resulting from the Industrial Revolution caused great confusion, and the weakest were pushed to the wall. Employers used the cheapest labour they could get, and that was woman and child labour. Little children of five years old were taken to work in factories or even mines, and forced to work such long hours that they often fell asleep at their work and were caught in the machinery; appalling numbers were permanently crippled and deformed by the hard work they had to do. The conditions otherwise were terrible,—rotten, insanitary, airless buildings, often brutal treatment at the hands of the overseers, no proper time for food, and pay so small that it was scarcely anything. Sometimes pauper children were taken into factories and put to sleep in buildings near, where the conditions were unspeakable. Sometimes some of the small wages had to be spent on things sold at the workshop, which the workers did not want, and for which they had to pay dearly, so that the employers profited. War had made things worse by raising prices and creating unemployment when the Continent began to make its own goods. The workmen could not improve their own conditions, for the Anti-Combination Laws forbade anything like trades unions, until they were repealed (1825).

The year 1825 roughly marks the beginning of an important series of reforming legislation. The gravest abuses of the factory system were dealt with,

slowly and reluctantly, by Factory Acts, restricting child labour, and enforcing a certain minimum of efficient arrangement. With economic development we deal more fully in another chapter, but in modern times we cannot ever neglect these conditions if we would understand unrest and its causes. At the same time the workers were allowed to combine, and the Trade Union movement began in a simple way. But still the greatest faith was placed in Parliament, and a great agitation began for that parliamentary reform which had been promised so long. In 1831 a bill was introduced, and a General Election returned a large majority for reform. The bill was passed by the Commons, only to be thrown out by the Lords. There was serious rioting in several parts of the country when this became known, and in the end the Lords had to give way. This Reform Act of 1832 was a considerable advance, for it redistributed seats, and so destroyed the absurdities that had grown up. It also widened and regularised the franchise, but the working class who had striven so hard for the success of the bill were disappointed. The middle class now had votes, but not yet the artisans. The same thing was happening in France, whose 1830 Revolution had helped the reform movement in England. In each case a middle-class Government was set up, and the workers began to agitate to get power for themselves.

Incomplete as the Act was, its mover declared it was all that could be granted, and it did a great deal of good. The criminal law was reformed, so that small crimes were no longer punished with death. The poor law was reformed, to check the abuses

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caused by the Speenhamland "Act of Parliament," of which we have already heard. The population was rapidly being pauperised as a result of the system of relief, and the process was checked by demanding that, with few exceptions, all should go to the workhouse. This "workhouse test" is maintained to-day. Municipal reform was also undertaken, making election of town officials more democratic, and giving the Councils more power.

Yet the poorer people were by no means satisfied. They knew enough to realise their misery and rebel against it, and were ready to adopt any plan which seemed likely to improve their condition. Then men came forward, idealists many of them, and told them that with further parliamentary reform their troubles would melt away. So renewed agitation began, and the Chartist movement sprang up and spread rapidly. The reformers demanded the granting of their charter, which contained the following six points:—Manhood suffrage; equal electoral districts; annual parliaments; abolition of property qualification for members of Parliament; payment of members; vote by ballot. They were not absurd demands by any means; five of the six reforms have actually taken place since, but the proposals sounded very extreme then. The Government laughed at them, and the agitators themselves became less keen after the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846) improved their condition by lowering the price of food. In 1848 the Chartists were stirred by news of the fresh revolution in France, but their action ended in a deputation to Parliament which failed to do anything. Yet the French Revolution of 1848

was to exercise considerable influence on English history. As with the famous Revolution of 1789, so this one gave ideas to the world which wrought chaos in Paris, but were destined to bear much fruit.

QUESTIONS

1. Summarise the reforming legislation of the period 1815-48, and explain the effect of it on England and Ireland.
2. Describe the causes that gave rise to the Chartist movement, and describe its end.
3. Take the six points of the Charter: find the reason for each, and say if you agree with the demand. Find out if you can when the demands have been granted.

CHAPTER XXX

SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

FRANCE in 1815 had been placed under her old dynasty, the king being Louis XVIII., brother of Louis XVI. Louis was wise and moderate, so that the country was kept quiet in his reign. Then his brother succeeded him, and tried to restore pre-revolution conditions. The result was the Revolution of 1830, when a member of a younger branch was made king as Louis-Philippe. A charter was drawn up and signed by him guaranteeing equality—one of the legacies of the Revolution—freedom of the Press, and abolition of conscription. The King was conscious that he depended on the support of the nation, and a constitutional monarchy seemed firmly established.

For many years the Prime Minister was Guizot, a learned man and author, who commanded a majority in the Chambers. He and Louis-Philippe worked beautifully together, for both believed sincerely that the one thing France wanted was stability and order, resting on the bourgeois class for solid support, and keeping free from wars abroad. So firmly did they believe it necessary to maintain the equilibrium in this way that they were blind to the ever-increasing discontent. France had been the nation that spread

revolutionary ideas of liberty and glory ; she was not likely to be long content with a hum-drum government such as Guizot's, and a parliamentary system which was not truly representative. England had obtained the Reform of 1832, and this was represented in France as a great democratic achievement. So societies were formed there too, to urge parliamentary reform. The demands were very reasonable, but Guizot thought that to grant them would endanger his majority, and therefore the stability of the Government. He refused to listen, and ignored the discontent thus encouraged.

France was "bored," as a politician said, and ready to agree to new schemes. A republic was the proposal of some, but until the catastrophe took place there were few republicans. There was something else needed to bring the unrest to a head, and this was provided by social conditions and the writings of Louis Blanc. France was in the throes at this time of an industrial revolution such as had been in England fifty years before. The same conditions were reproduced, the same influx into towns, the awful overcrowding, the miseries of the factory hands, and the growth of slums. Nothing had been done to deal with these circumstances. Louis Blanc, a poor man who had won his way up by journalism, saw this state of things and studied it. He published in 1844 his book on the Organisation of Labour, which had a tremendous sale and exercised considerable influence on the Revolution of 1848.

His book was partly written to promote certain schemes of his own, designed to improve existing conditions, but it was also a scientific piece of work.

He began by examining things as they were, giving statistics and documentary evidence, and from this proving his first point. This was that the organisation or lack of organisation was destroying part of the population, body and soul, that materially and spiritually it was wrong, and that the root of this evil was unrestricted competition. This was the distinctive part of his work ; then followed the more controversial constructive effort. Competition was to be replaced by co-operation. The Government would establish workshops in certain trades, in which the workers would share the profits. It would be to the workers' interest to increase the profits, therefore they would work so as to out-rival the private workshops, and gradually the national workshops would be the only ones left. In these financial security would be obtained by putting a proportion of the profits into a reserve fund. The rest would be divided between the workers in proportion to their work, everyone getting a living wage. After a time of probation for the experiment, the officials would be chosen by the workpeople.

This was Louis Blanc's scheme, and though the possibility of some of it is doubtful, it deserves the respect given to any careful solution of a very difficult problem. Many men read the book, and they often only half-understood it ; also the destructive part was more undoubtedly true, and so appealed to more people. So that half-formed ideas spread over the country, and bitterness and unrest grew fast. Social discontent and a desire for a greater self-government mingled and together brought about the downfall of the Government. A series of reform banquets

were held, speeches being made in favour of parliamentary reform. The prohibition of one of these roused the people of Paris, and a chance shot by a soldier brought about the abdication of the king and the setting-up of a Provisional Government. The poet Lamartine was at the head of this, an idealist and a man of sympathy and imagination, but not a great statesman. He wisely and with great courage rejected the adoption of the extreme revolutionary party and the symbol of the red flag. At the same time he gave way to the provisional proclamation of a Republic, and was obliged to have one or two of the extremists in the Government. The Paris mob was for a while in power, and clubs springing up in all directions taught impracticable and purely destructive revolutionary doctrines. The most important of the experiments of the time was that of the national workshops.

The title sounds as if Louis Blanc's scheme were being tried. In reality nothing is further from the truth, though the statement has been used to bring such schemes into disrepute. Louis Blanc's was an attempt to reorganise society on a new basis. The actual experiment was only a temporary measure taken to relieve distress and do something to satisfy the mob. The workshops did practically no real productive work. Most of the men were set to dig up the Champ de Mars, and when that was done, they began to undo their work—and all this was paid for. The result was that it was a dead loss to the State, and that there were no profits to be shared, so the men made no special effort. More and more men came to these workshops until private trade was

ruined, and there was not even enough sham work to be done, so the men were paid most days of the week for doing nothing. Nothing could be more absurd and dangerous, for, of course, it did not stop unrest, but rather created disorder. An engineer offered to take charge of it, and he did restore order by introducing a military system of organisation, but when he suggested such things as house-building that the men could do, he could not obtain permission. The workmen set up a club, and as long as this man was in charge it seems to have been harmless. Then he was abducted suddenly—an action typical of the time—by Government order, and his successor mismanaged things.

By this time an assembly had met, summoned by the Provisional Government. It saw that the national workshops must be dispersed, but carried out its decision with so little regard for the workers that they refused to move, and terrible street fighting resulted. The Government had to lay siege to the East end of Paris, and only won with considerable loss. This was the end of the National Workshops, and also the last effort of the extremists and the very poor to maintain their power by force. The rest of France was not behind Paris ; middle-class government was gradually restored. The Constituent Assembly drew up a very defective constitution arranging for one House and an almost absolute President elected directly by the people. The elections took place, and showed the progress of the Liberal party in the Church, and also of the Bonapartists. Napoleon at St. Helena had created a tradition about himself and his ideas. He made Bonapartism stand for a union of

the idea of empire (linked in the minds of the French with memories of national greatness), and the idea of liberalism. He would, he said, have aimed at establishing a free and progressive and peaceful rule, had not the English prevented him ! So the Bonapartist tradition grew, and was fostered by a nephew of Napoleon, Louis-Napoleon, who in 1839 wrote a book on the "Napoleonic Idea." The result was seen when this young man was elected President of the Republic at the end of 1848, and in 1851 and 1852 by *coups d'état* made himself Emperor with popular consent.

1848 has been called a year of unfulfilled revolutions. Certainly the French one in that year took a very startling course, and ended in restoring absolutism in the Second Empire. Yet none of these abortive revolutions left the nations as it found them, and the French Republic did its share by spreading once more new ideas and giving an impetus to movements for reform in other countries.

QUESTIONS

1. Give reasons for the French Revolution of 1848.
2. Compare and contrast the 1789 and 1848 Revolutions.
3. Describe Louis Blanc's ideas, and explain how far the National Workshops were a failure of his plan.

CHAPTER XXXI

NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. DIVIDING UP NON-NATIONAL STATES

THE nineteenth century, as we have seen, was to be a long struggle between the strength of tradition and the strength of a great enthusiasm for new ideas. These were not absolutely new, of course. We have seen how through the centuries nations had been growing, how the mediæval idea of the supremacy of Emperor and Pope had fallen into insignificance as England, France and Spain grew more powerful. These countries had grown great under kings and queens such as Elizabeth, Louis XIV., Ferdinand and Isabella. Spain had fallen into the second rank, but the others kept on, and had, by gradual development, wars, and revolution, added another idea to the mere longing for power; and that was the idea not of a country ruled by royal ministers, but of a people with some measure of popular government. England had parliamentary government, though in an imperfect form. France had known the Committee of Public Safety, the years when the people

saved the country, the years of voluntary submission to an Emperor approved by plebiscite. In other countries there was national feeling growing, at present unsatisfied. Prussia and Austria had their own rulers, but men had seen a vision of a fairer thing, a free and united Germany. In Italy, too, there were men who longed for a real united Italy, and in both cases, although the nationalists were in 1815 in a minority, they were to win in the end. In both cases the nationalist and liberal movements moved together, for a long time at any rate, for the same men were members of both movements as a rule, since both attracted men of free and progressive minds. So the new nation was to be built up on democratic lines. (Liberalism in these chapters will be understood in the European sense of a love of freedom and of government under popular control.) We are to trace how Italy and Germany won their unity, and how in Germany the liberal part of the movement had dropped behind. We want to trace also how in countries already united, such as France and Russia, the struggle was carried on towards democracy. And there were yet other countries, united against their will, in whose case the forces of nationalism fought not for union, but for separation. These we will follow first.

In 1815 Belgium and Holland had been united under the Dutch King, and from the first the union had proved unsatisfactory. Each part of the country was very conscious of its own character and its past history. The Dutch had by their gallant and successful fight against Philip II. won early in the seventeenth century their independence and their right to worship

according to the Protestant religion. The Southern States, on the other hand, had held to Roman Catholicism, and had been bound up first with Spain, then with Austria. The Southern States were partly industrial, partly agricultural, while the wealth of Holland came from her commerce. Separated for two centuries, the two countries could not make one nation, and the King by his efforts to "enlighten" the Roman Catholics of Belgium made the attempt hopeless. Directly the news came of the 1830 Revolution in Paris, Belgium rose, repulsed the Royalist troops, and set up a Provisional Government. The crown of Belgium was offered by this Assembly to a French prince, but it was refused for fear of war. Russia was eager to intervene on the principles of the Holy Alliance, but neither England (under Wellington) nor France would hear of this, and in 1831 England, now directed by Palmerston, succeeded in getting Leopold of Saxe-Coburg accepted as king, a choice satisfactory to all. But the Dutch were not pleased, the King refused to give up Belgium, Dutch troops invaded the land and were only driven out by the French, who then retired at the request of the British. In 1832 arrangements were formally ratified, Belgium became an independent country, and her neutrality was guaranteed by the Great Powers. This is the famous "Scrap of Paper" torn up by Prussia when she invaded Belgium in 1914. Some such agreement was obviously needed, as the new State was too small to stand invasion by a great military nation.

In two other cases has nationalism broken up states. Norway and Sweden, who were united in

1815, separated peaceably in 1905, each adopting a separate king and parliament. The constitution of Sweden is especially liberal, and woman's suffrage found its earliest home in the Scandinavian countries.

The last and most important instance has been the breaking up of the Turkish Empire in Europe, beginning with the winning of Greek independence and ending with the settlement of 1919. In 1815 the Ottomans still ruled the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, with the exception of the little hill country of Montenegro. The Turks had never been, as we have seen, more than a fraction of the population. They had won the country by conquest and kept it by force and a mixture of bribery and repression. They were hostile in religion to the majority of the peoples they governed, and proved themselves particularly incapable of the work of carrying on any ordered government. Many of the financiers and high officials were Greeks. The Turks were alternately slack and indifferent, or seized with the idea of persecuting the Christians or letting them be pillaged by the rabble of the population. Russia was traditionally interested in supporting her fellow Christians of the Orthodox Church against the Turkish Government, while England was inclined to be so suspicious of Russian designs on Constantinople as to favour Turkey.

In these circumstances, in 1821 a small rising took place against the Turks, which failed because Russia refused to support it. This was immediately followed by a serious revolt in Greece. The Sultan was occupied by a struggle with Ali Pasha, the cruel and clever ruler

of Janina, and his forces were defeated by the Greeks, who manned the fleet, and consequently had that at their disposal. The war was a long one, and saw barbarities and massacres on each side, but Greece was fighting for freedom and independence, and this brought her the sympathy of Europe. The liberal Powers, England and France, refused to allow Metternich to intervene, and complicated negotiations went on between the Powers while the war was in progress. English money and many volunteers found their way out, the latter headed by the poet Byron, who gave his life in the service of freedom. The intervention of the Powers led to the accidental battle of Navarino in 1827, when the Turkish fleet was destroyed, and to Russia making war on the Turkish Government. The end of it was that Russia acquired some territory, that Greek independence was recognised, and that Serbia was given self-government under Turkey. In 1833 a Bavarian Prince became King of Greece. The attempts of an Egyptian Governor (Egypt was under Turkey) to attack the Sultan were at the same time foiled by Russia coming to the help of Turkey in return for certain terms.

The next disturbance was the Crimean War, in which you know England and France defended Turkey against Russia, driven by fear of Russia and the belief that Turkey could reform her Government. The treaty concluding the war arranged that the Turks should be given another chance, but one more piece of territory was taken away. The principalities on the Danube were made practically independent, and in 1861 they united in the one country of Roumania.

After this not much happened till 1875, when a Pan-Slav movement led to a rising in Herzegovina which spread all over the Balkans. Some effort was made at this eleventh hour to reform the Government, and the Young Turk party arose, pledging itself to all sorts of reforms. Meanwhile Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Turkish Government, who allowed her troops to carry out the "Bulgarian atrocities" which infuriated Mr Gladstone in England so much. The Powers intervened, but Turkey rejected the terms they suggested, and in 1877 Russia declared war on her. After some difficulties, Russia was completely successful, and made a treaty that was so severe to Turkey that France and England demanded that it should be reconsidered. This led to the famous Congress of Berlin, 1878, when Bismarck was the presiding genius, and Disraeli came back declaring that he brought "peace with honour." Serbia and Roumania obtained fresh territory, while two protectorates were carved out of the Turkish rule—Bulgaria and another province that united with it in 1885. The Treaty of Berlin was a compromise, and therefore proved unsatisfactory. Many risings and wars have taken place since then, of which we need only notice a few. Several times brutal massacres of Armenians have taken place, and nothing has been done to punish the murderers. Crete after much trouble became united with Greece. In the midst of troubles the Young Turks suddenly took charge of affairs in 1908, to be faced immediately with important losses. Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina—Slav provinces which she had been asked to look after—and Bulgaria declared herself

entirely independent. The Young Turks failed to show any real reforms, and in 1912 the Balkan States united against the Turkish Government, winning an easy victory and taking much territory, but only to quarrel amongst themselves immediately. In the rearrangement Bulgaria, the beaten State, lost what she had gained in the preceding year, while Serbia and Greece gained. Turkey kept only a little territory round Constantinople, but, though the Balkan nations had thrown off the Turkish yoke, the boundaries were in 1914 still not in accordance with nationality, and needed rectification. The winning of independence by the Balkan States is, perhaps, the least inspiring of the rising of nations in the century, for though sympathy can be given for the suffering caused by the Turks, yet the struggle is very confused, a battle-ground for diplomats rather than a scene of heroic enthusiasm, and there is much oriental cruelty and deceit on each side. Apart from the war of Greek Independence, it is not a very thrilling story, but it is none the less important.

BOOKS

LEVETT, *Europe since Napoleon*, as before.

MACDONALD, *Turkey and the Eastern Question*, chapters V. and VIII. give an idea of part of the period. (People's Books. 1s.)

JOKAI, *Lion of Janina*: vivid historical novel about Ali Pasha.

GOOCH, *History of Our Own Time*. (Home University Library. 2s.) Good after 1885 (pp. 121-131).

QUESTIONS

1. Sketch the causes and course of (a) the Belgian, (b) the Greek Revolt.

2. Trace the breaking up of the Turkish Empire in Europe, noticing especially the part played by Russia.
3. Find an ethnological map of the Balkans, and compare with the boundaries of the different States. Where is there likely to be discontent ?

CHAPTER XXXII

NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY

II. UNITING OF GERMANY

GERMANY and Italy are the two great instances of the uniting force of the principle of nationality. The nation in each case was directed by great men, and it is largely owing to their influence that the two countries, when united, were founded on such different systems.

In 1815 Germany was, as we have seen, re-made after the disturbance created by Napoleon. There was no thought of restoring the hundreds of petty states that he had amalgamated into larger ones, but the thirty-two surviving states were placed once more under their old dynasties. Germany had in the War of Liberation awaked to the idea of one Fatherland for all Germans, true patriotism had been taught and sung throughout the land, and liberty had been made the ideal of a new nation. Now once more the old order was restored, and Germany was not yet a united nation. The Holy Roman Empire had vanished, the Emperor taking the title of Emperor of Austria. There was a loose kind of

confederation which was supposed to bind the states together, Austria presiding, but it was a very feeble organisation. The separate states were still very jealous of each other, and clung to their rights of taxation and government. Many of them were reactionary, failing to carry out the constitutional reforms suggested in the enthusiasm of 1814. Some tried a liberal government, only to find their endeavours thwarted by Metternich's great influence.

In the years, then, up to 1848, German strivings after national unity and democratic government were checked, only finding expression in occasional risings. There was a severe censorship of the Press, and a very close watch was kept on all societies of any kind in the fear that they were of revolutionary tendency. Then, in 1848, the expected storm burst. The Revolution in Paris inspired risings in Berlin and Vienna. Metternich was forced to flee for his life, and the Emperor abdicated, his place being taken by Francis Joseph. Serious revolts in Hungary occupied the Austrians for some time, so that during that period they could not intervene in what was happening in the rest of Germany.

In Berlin there was some street fighting, and the King agreed to grant a constitution rather than continue to fight his own people. This submission was very unpopular with a large section of the Prussians, and especially with the Conservatives, who found a leader at this time in a young farmer and aristocrat, Otto von Bismarck. Bismarck was a man of considerable talent, tremendous will-power, overpowering energy and amazing capacity for work. He was at this time throwing all his powers into the Conservative

anti-revolutionary propaganda of those who longed to maintain the old alliance with Austria on the old reactionary basis. The King wrote of him, "A red reactionary : smacks of blood ; will be useful later."

Meanwhile a number of Liberal patriots had met together at Frankfort, and convened a Parliament which was elected by manhood suffrage. This Parliament was the hope of all German nationalists who wished to unite Germany by sinking the importance of the individual states, of all who wished to make the new Germany democratic and free,—and these men were many. The Parliament proceeded to make a constitution, which arranged for two Houses, the Lower to be elected by manhood suffrage, and at the head a hereditary Emperor. They offered this crown to the King of Prussia, who rejected it, calling it a "crown of shame," because it would mean a limited monarchy, and the absorption of Prussia in Germany. This refusal killed the Frankfort or liberal solution of the problem. Bismarck approved of the King's action.

Then Prussia tried her own solution of the difficulty, which was to unite Germany under Prussian leadership, excluding Austria altogether. Prussia was a military, strictly disciplined State. She summoned a Parliament to carry out this project. Austria, now victorious over her rebels, replied by summoning the old Diet. War was imminent, when suddenly Bismarck was called in to advise, and the result was the submission of Prussia to Austria in the humiliating treaty of Olmutz. The Diet was restored ; the Austrians had crushed the Prussian solution as the Prussians had the Frankfort. Notice that Bismarck

defended Olmutz, and that later he carried through the very Prussian solution that he now prevented. Partly this was because the Prussian army was not strong enough for war, partly because he had yet to learn a lesson. This lesson was learned by him when he was the Prussian representative at the Diet. There, face to face with the Austrians and the other diplomats, he saw at last that there could be no progress, no advantage for Prussia, while Austria was supreme in Germany. In these years he made up his mind that the Prussian solution was the only right one, and that Austria would have to be beaten. The wonderful thing was that he did it. The opportunity did not come for the beginning of his task until 1861. Then the new King, William I., quarrelled with the Prussian Parliament or Reichstag, over the control of the army. Parliament refused to vote the money necessary for the army extension and reform that William wanted. He stood firm, and called Bismarck to be his chief minister. So Bismarck began his career as minister without a party (for he had offended the Conservatives by his attitude to Austria, and the Liberals were suspicious), without a budget, opposed by Parliament. He promptly raised money on the royal authority, and did so until after many years his successes persuaded Parliament to give way. Then, almost at once, arose the question of Schleswig-Holstein. These were duchies which had for some time had the same ruler as Denmark, while Holstein was also member of the Bund, the German Federation. There were rival candidates for the throne of Denmark and these duchies. One was approved of by the Powers, among them Prussia and

Austria, by a previous treaty; the other was popular with the Bund, and by 1861 with Austria. It was a complicated business, and Bismarck secretly determined that out of it he would win the annexation of both duchies to Prussia. And he did. Prussia was the one of those concerned that had no shadow of a title to either, and Bismarck alone dreamed of such an ending to the question.

The ways by which he gained his end are too long and tortuous to be described here in detail. One thing is noticeable all the way through, and that is Bismarck's belief that anything is justifiable if the end is to serve the State. Deception, according to this view, is the commonest weapon, and the crime is to be foolish enough to be caught. Acting according to this standard of conduct, the clever diplomat deceived everyone in his turn, making everything result in the end in something to the advantage of Prussia. He persuaded the troops of the Bund, Austria and Prussia, to occupy the duchies, then the former to leave them in the hands of the two great Powers. There was a stage when by treaty the King of Denmark gave up the duchies, Schleswig to Prussia, Holstein to Austria. This was only a stage, for Bismarck, as we have seen, determined to obtain not one but *both* for Prussia. He was waiting because he knew war alone could send the Austrians out of Holstein, and the Prussian Generals wanted to make their preparations sure.

The moment came when Moltke and his staff said all was ready. Neutrality had been secured by an understanding with France, Bismarck giving verbal promises of compensation in lands for Prussia's increased power. Italy was induced to make an

active alliance. Russia was kept friendly. So, with the ring secure, Prussia fought and utterly defeated Austria at Sadowa or Königratz, 1866. Bismarck had won the supremacy of Germany for Prussia, but there were many difficulties still ahead. The Northern States had become used in the Zollverein or Customs Union to common action led by Prussia. They knew the advantages of free trade within Germany. They were the same race and of the same religion as the German part of Prussia. But the South was Roman Catholic, liberal, and suspicious of the North. To unite the two would be a very difficult task. Then France was looking on jealously at events in Germany. She would never consent to the uniting of Germany, because a strong Power there would make a dangerous neighbour, and the Balance of Power would be upset. Napoleon III. also had been promised some territory such as Luxembourg or even Belgium, and now wanted these to be fulfilled. Bismarck calmed his fears by uniting only the North into the North German Confederation, and negotiated with him about the compensation. He had been careful to get the French demands in writing, while he himself had not signed anything. When the French pressed, he published the French demands in order to alarm Europe with the sight of this ambition. Then there was a possibility of a Prussian becoming King of Spain, but French protests made him drop this idea. Out of this defeat he won a victory, for the French pressed their success too far, and out of the despatch sent by the King of Prussia at Ems, Bismarck made by clever editing a trumpet call to Germany, and a challenge to France.

This caused the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, in

which the Germans won a great victory at Sedan, and ended by besieging Paris. Bismarck was with the army, negotiating. He used the war to bring about the final stage. Bavaria and the South were persuaded to petition the King of Prussia to become Emperor, and the actual ceremony of coronation was carried out at Versailles, much to the Emperor's disgust. The war ended in triumph for Germany, France was crushed, and the centre of Europe came to be not Paris, but Berlin. It is owing to Bismarck that Germany was united in 1871, but Germany would have united herself somehow ; the important thing is that the character of the new State was moulded by Bismarck. Under his influence it was made an absolute monarchy, with the Imperial Chancellor (himself) supreme under, and chosen by, the Emperor. Popular opinion was conciliated by the Reichstag, chosen by universal suffrage, but there was no real democracy. The Reichstag had no control over the Government, as the House of Commons has in England. It was merely created to give the people a harmless outlet for their discontent. The real power lay in the Federal Council, where there were diplomats from the various States, and above all in the Emperor and his Chancellor.

The nationalist and liberal party helped Bismarck to create Germany. In return, when the work was done, he broke with them, refusing to be bound to any one party. The Socialist movement became strong as Germany became industrial, and he hated it. He therefore persecuted the extremists and, at the same time, tried to take the wind out of their sails by such measures as State Insurance and Old Age

Pensions. He refused to make an enemy of England, but allowed public opinion to force the acquisition of a few colonies. The young Emperor wanted to take a stronger line, to make Germany a naval and colonial power, and, consequently, he dismissed the great Chancellor in 1890. So modern Germany was made by Bismarck—a State that scorned and feared democracy; that had a system of State morality that, worked by lesser men, led to the actions of 1914; that was inspired by William II. with a vast ambition for world power. There is no need to point out the importance of this power.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the different ideas held as to the kind of new Germany that was to be made? Show who supported each solution, and the importance of each.
2. Trace the unification of Germany. Note any incidents which show Bismarck's character and methods of work.
3. What do you think was wrong with the Germany that Bismarck created?

CHAPTER XXXIII

NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY

III. UNITING OF ITALY

THE story of the uniting of Italy is an instructive contrast to that of Germany. Here, fortunately, nationalism and liberalism were not separated, but found men who devoted their lives to promoting both, with the result that the new State, though imperfect, was free from the fatal defects of the Prussian system.

Hope of realising themselves as a national State must have been more difficult to retain for the Italians than the Germans. Apart from the need of diplomacy abroad, German statesmen could do as they liked in the direction of reform, but in Italy foreigners occupied large portions of the land, and dynasties of foreign origin oppressed the peoples. From the time of the Middle Ages, Italy had been a disunited land, a prey to foreign intervention and internal rivalry and war. It would need an even stronger effort to achieve unity in this land than in Germany, where the problem had taxed Bismarck's great powers.

The way was prepared by Napoleon, who broke down barriers, spread enlightenment and revolutionary

ideas, and, to crown all, bestowed the name of Italy on his new kingdom. All this was apparently undone in 1815, when the old dynasties returned, and reaction reigned. Yet unrest smouldered in the land, and from this time on there were always men ready to risk all in making Italy one State as well as one nation. Fortunately, leaders were found who provided between them the elements of success necessary for so gigantic a task. No one of them could alone have done the work, but the four combined achieved it. The four were — Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi, and Victor Emmanuel.

Mazzini was the prophet of the movement. As a youth he joined the secret society of the Carbonari, but found that its methods were absurd and little calculated to advance the cause. Imprisoned on suspicion of being a Carbonaro, he matured a scheme for a more effective society, that was to become famous under his leadership. He was encouraged by the renewed revolutions of 1830, but in Italy very little came of an attempt to establish more constitutional governments in some of the States. Nevertheless Mazzini went to Marseilles, and there gathered round him a band of enthusiasts. In 1832 "Young Italy" was founded. As the title shows, he placed most of his faith in the energy of the young, through whom Italy was to be saved. They were a group of poverty-stricken exiles, unknown and in disfavour with their governments. Yet they dared to plan the overthrow of the Austrians and the freedom of their country. Sometimes expeditions were sent in the hope of rousing the nation, but they were invariably mismanaged, and only led to the martyrdom of those who took part in them.

Ill-advised as they were, these attempts did some good in strengthening feeling against the Austrian oppressor and showing Europe what sufferings Italy was forced to endure. No humiliation was spared. Those who were flogged were forced to pay for the rods and the vinegar; the mothers of men who were hanged were sent the bill for the ropes.

More valuable than this exposure of the Austrian system was Mazzini's propaganda work. He wrote literary articles in Italian newspapers, expressing national sentiment in this way since the censorship allowed nothing more direct. He wrote essays and pamphlets that were smuggled throughout Italy. In these, with great sincerity and fiery enthusiasm, he preached the vision of a new Italy, a free republic, made by the stern self-sacrifice of her sons. Duty was his gospel, and the ordinary working-man was his hope. His writings were full of the finest idealism, and they roused the people and prepared the way as nothing else could have done. But a more practical aim was needed, and a less rigid adherence to theory. The defect of Mazzini's work was seen later, when his longing for a republican form of government made him hinder the establishment of the kingdom of United Italy, necessary though it was.

Happily there were others. The King of Piedmont, Charles Albert, gave his kingdom parliamentary government, and, in 1848, urged on by the progress of a rebellion against the Austrians in Milan, and the news from France, he declared war against Austria. He was not a great general, and was defeated and forced to sign an armistice. Public opinion and genuine fervour led him soon to denounce this, but

in the succeeding campaign he was utterly defeated, and, in despair, he abdicated, giving the throne to Victor Emmanuel. The new King maintained a liberal form of government, and by harbouring refugees, led all Italy to look to Piedmont as its saviour. He was guided by another of the four, Count Cavour.

Cavour came before the public first as a scientific reformer in agriculture, and a man ready to promote railways and all other advances in civilisation. Then he was for a time a journalist on the liberal and nationalist side, gaining so much influence that shortly after the 1848 revolution he entered the ministry, and before very long became Prime Minister. He was moderate in speech and policy, though very careful to maintain the democratic form of government which made Piedmont the hope of Italy. No one realised at first how his whole energies were bent on securing Italian freedom and unity, for his was not the work of the prophet. He acted his part in Parliament and the crooked ways of diplomacy. He said himself that if private men did for themselves what he did for the State, they would be great villains, so his State morality was not strict. He used existing conditions, and refused to be an idealist. He prepared Piedmont for the war against the Austrian that was to set Italy free, encouraged exiles from the rest of Italy to settle in this free State, and took every opportunity of winning sympathy for the Italian cause and exposing Austrian methods. In 1854 he took his country into the Crimean War on the side of France and England, and stated his case plainly at the Conference held to make peace. He worked

on Louis Napoleon's feelings for Italy until he succeeded in securing his alliance. Then he led Austria very cleverly to provoke war by unjustifiable demands, and in 1859 France and Piedmont made war victoriously on Austria. Everything seemed to be working beautifully, when Napoleon III. suddenly made peace with Austria behind the back of his ally. Lombardy was gained for Italy, and united itself with Piedmont, but Tuscany and the other states who had overturned their Austrian dukes were threatened with a restoration, and Venice was abandoned to the Austrian.

It was a terrible blow, and one which made Italy no longer grateful to France, but furiously angry. The Italians did not know of the threats of the Clerical party in Paris, on whose support Napoleon's throne depended, or of the fear of Prussian invasion. So to this day, in spite of the help France has given to the Italian cause, the resentment at this sudden betrayal and at her behaviour in Rome, have caused bitterness in Franco-Italian relations. The case of Rome was again a result of Napoleon's dependence on the Roman Catholic party at home. (He was forced to allow French troops in 1848-9 to land in Italy and besiege Rome, then in the hands of a new republic headed by Mazzini and defended by Garibaldi. The republic fell, and the Pope was restored, without proper safeguards against the renewing of the abuses of his rule.) French action in 1859 made the breach between the two countries, France and Italy, still wider.

The damage was not as great as it might have been. Tuscany, Modena and Romagna refused to have back

their former rulers and by plebiscite became united with Piedmont. Cavour gave up Nice and Savoy to France, and so freed Italy from any debt of gratitude by paying the pound of flesh. Then another stepped in where Cavour dared not tread. The politician could not attempt to free other parts of Italy for fear of European complications, but a free-lance could and did do this on his own responsibility. Garibaldi was a hero of romance, a sea-captain who had fought with pirates, had in one small ship given battle to the navies of tyrant states in South America on behalf of young republics, who had turned his energies to land-war, and led guerilla warfare in the mountains and forests of Monte Video. In 1848 he had defended Rome to the last against the French, and, refusing to surrender, led a diminishing army through the lines of the enemy. In 1859 he led a volunteer corps, who fought for Piedmont amongst the Alps and kept whole divisions of the enemy busy. In 1860 Sicily asked him to come to her help, and with his thousand volunteers he went, secretly encouraged by Cavour. In a most wonderful campaign these small forces defeated the regular army of the King of Naples, and drove the Neapolitans out of Sicily. Then he crossed to Naples and was just facing the last stronghold in the north of Naples when the Piedmontese troops arrived and took matters out of his hands. Garibaldi would have attacked the Papal States, and it was not yet wise to attempt to bring in Rome, for France would have intervened. So the end of 1860 saw all Italy united except Rome and Venice. Venice was added in 1866 as a reward for Italy's alliance with Bismarck. At last the opportunity came in 1871 with the Franco-

Prussian War, which caused the withdrawal of French troops from Rome and left Italy free to manage her own affairs. Victor Emmanuel entered Rome in triumph, and unity was complete.

The young kingdom has had many difficulties to face. The Pope refused to accept the abolition of his temporal power, and lives in the Vatican as a self-made prisoner. The Church question has been a cause of much friction. Finance has always been a great difficulty, and there is considerable social unrest. But all who can read and write have a vote, and the future is in the hands of the people. Idealism, nationalism, and a supreme sense of loyalty and service to the community have given Italy a history of honour. The same forces should make for her future happiness.

QUESTIONS

1. Estimate the difficulties that faced the Italians in the nineteenth century, and the part played by each of the four great leaders.
2. Trace the influence of the Papacy and the French in Italy in this period, and show how this affects Italian politics to-day.
3. Do you think Cavour was justified in using methods for the State that he would have scorned in private life ?

CHAPTER XXXIV

NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY

IV. FRANCE AND RUSSIA

THERE was not in every European country such an obvious working of the principles of nationalism and liberalism as we have traced in the case of Germany, Italy, and the Balkans. Yet these were European forces, and exercised their influence throughout the Continent. Of England and her advances towards a more complete democracy we speak elsewhere. In Ireland nationalism gave rise to one of the greatest modern problems, to each solution of which many difficulties seem to be attached. But Irish history would demand volumes, and the student must be left to make the attempt for himself.

In France the same motives were at work, leading chiefly to a republic and the struggle for Alsace-Lorraine. Insufficient political education and a respect for the memory of Napoleon, who had at least given the country glory, led to acquiescence in the Second Empire established by Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* of 1852. This empire was based on the Bonapartist tradition, which, as we have seen, was itself

a union of the ideas of liberalism and empire. What France needed most at the moment was the restoration of order after the confusion of the previous few years. This Napoleon III. gave, and he carried out some part of the programme of his party by genuine care for the prosperity of the country and the fostering of industries. This was akin to the enlightened despotism of the passing age rather than to liberalism, for there was very little representative government. Liberalism found its expression rather in foreign than in home policy, and this generous feeling was unfortunate for its possessor. It led him into adventures in Italy which brought him no gratitude, and in Mexico which brought failure and dishonour. Above all, these experiments alienated the clerical party which, led by the Empress, largely directed the policy of the Empire. Torn by policy in one direction, and by inclination in another, in the end he pleased nobody, and sought to share his unpopularity by laying responsibility on a new constitutional government. This was the "Liberal Empire" of 1860-70. However it was not successful, for freedom led to the growth of the Opposition, exposing the unstable foundations on which the Empire was built. Bonapartism weakened, and fell in the throes of the Franco-Prussian War.

There was a short period of terrible confusion, when the Communists—men in favour of rule by local self-governing Communes—fought other Frenchmen under the eyes of the Germans, and ended by burning many of the most beautiful buildings in Paris. This fury was avenged by an equally fierce suppression, and a temporary Republic grew into a permanent Republic.

By the constitution of 1875 the Third Republic came into being. There is a President elected for seven years, who is independent of party and holds a position in many ways corresponding to that of the English King. No member of an old ruling family could be chosen President ; and the election was not the work of all the people, but of the two Houses. These provisions guarded against transformation into an empire such as took place in 1852, and were the result of the lessons of hard experience. A Prime Minister and Cabinet form the Government, but the confusion of parties makes for constant changes and little continuity in policy. Such continuity as there is, is secured by a system of standing committees of the House which, between them, carry on the work of Government, and wield far greater power than is done by the corresponding committees in the English Commons. This has the advantage of securing really expert knowledge in different questions by men who specialise on them, but, on the other hand, it makes popular control of the Government policy more difficult.

The Lower House is elected by manhood suffrage, the Senate by the whole country voting as one constituency from those on a list of candidates. France seems really to have settled its form of government at last, and to have taken rank as one of the liberal Powers of Europe. Equality is one of her watchwords, which has become reality to a very remarkable extent, though her liberty is not quite so complete as ours being hampered by the great power of officialdom. The future of the country is in the hands of its people.

Another nation of which this can be said with equal

truth is that of Russia to-day. Russian history is intensely interesting, largely because it is comparatively unknown, and some acquaintance with it is necessary before we can even begin to form an opinion on present conditions. It is the story of a constant struggle from the time of Peter the Great (end of seventeenth century) onwards between the influences of the East and the West. At one time a policy is adopted of introducing Western civilisation and entering into European politics; at another her energies are turned to the East, to the acquiring of power in the vast Continent of Asia. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Russia was a vast country, half Eastern and half Western, inhabited by the Slav race, which always puzzles the Western European. In the war with Napoleon, Russia had played a notable part, and Alexander I. seemed to promise a reign inspired by enlightened Western ideas and genuine liberalism.

There was much room for reform. The condition of the serfs was a standing disgrace to the country, and indeed to the world. They were absolutely in the power of their masters, who used them as tools, and treated them as they wished; their lives were not their own. Socially Russia was in the stage reached by the West of Europe in the early Middle Ages, an agricultural feudal society which oppressed the peasants intolerably. Politically the government was simply the despotic rule of the Tsar, aided by ministers he chose himself, unchecked by any kind of self-government on the part of the people. Other questions arose during the century, but Russian history has been in the main

determined by a struggle for social freedom and political self-government. The Tsars have alternately encouraged and repressed these movements—a procedure calculated to produce discontent and insurrection.

Alexander I. began by leading a liberal movement in Europe, but we know how he soon became alarmed at the spread of revolutionary doctrines, and was led by Metternich to the path of reaction. His successor was openly opposed to Western ideas in Russia, declaring that the country must develop on other lines, and that he was the one to lead and encourage her. Anything tending to freedom of thought he declared to be revolutionary, and suppressed with a strong hand; any discontent he ruthlessly punished. His reign ended in the terrible failure of the Crimean War. Alexander II. (1855–1881) is specially interesting as typical of the war between the opposing tendencies in Russia. He carried out many valuable reforms. He set free all the serfs, and tried to arrange that they would have enough land to enable them to live without hardship. He established a system of local government that may yet be the saving of Russia. The village communities were given a little authority, and the larger Zemstvos occupy in many ways the position of our County Councils, managing such things as education, poor relief, and the distribution of the corn supply. In these, Russians have for the first time had the opportunity of gaining experience in the work of government. The judicial system was overhauled by the same Tsar, education encouraged and freedom of opinion allowed.

Then came the tragedy. Alexander found that

these reforms caused a demand, especially among the student class, for far greater and more fundamental measures which it was unwise to grant. He became alarmed at the growth of discontent, and began to believe that the policy he had adopted would breed revolution. The Polish insurrection led him to adopt strong measures and the policy of forcing the Poles into the Russian mould. Nihilism completed the work of frightening the Tsar, and he began to use repression. Nihilism was a theory which demanded the abolition of all existing organisation in the State, a theory that was sincerely and fanatically held by numbers of people. Finding persuasion of little use, Nihilists soon became conspirators, adopting the methods of anarchy, dynamiting and bomb-throwing. The Tsar repressed this movement as much as he could, but found it impossible to root out a secret society such as this. At last he decided to grant representative government, but before he made this decision public he was assassinated by nihilists.

His successors abandoned his policy, acting instead as despots. Many good things were done, but always from above, and liberals were sent freely to Siberia. On the failure of the Russo-Japanese War, the liberals seized their opportunity, and organised a general strike. The Tsar (the same who was overturned in 1917) gave way, granted a constitution, and summoned a Duma or Parliament. The members of the Duma made demands that the Government refused to grant, and, after a period of friction, the Government (under Stolypin) arbitrarily altered the system of election so as to make the Duma more obedient and less representative. Russia was still governed by the

official class, and there was still the smouldering of discontent and the constant repression. The European war led to the outbreak. The army joined the town population, and the Government fell. Recent events are too confused for any clear account to be given here, and the different forces too complicated. Enough has been said to show something of the difficulties of the situation, and the lack of experience and education which must prove a serious drawback to the work of reconstruction. Russia has taken a greap leap from mediæval conditions to those of an extreme type of advanced democracy, and her success or failure will greatly influence the rest of the world.

QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by Bonapartism ? What influence has it exercised on French history ?
2. Trace the fortunes of the Liberal movement in Russia, and explain how its treatment has caused it to become revolutionary.

CHAPTER XXXV

ECONOMIC IDEALS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

POLITICAL conditions cannot be studied separately from social and economic conditions, and least of all can this be done in modern times. The growth of nations and national feeling, and the rise of democracy, have been bound up with the economic history of the peoples, each influencing the other. This industrial history has been largely made what it is by the influence of thinkers, who have in each age preached economic theory. Sixteenth-century history was under the sway of mercantilist ideas. In the same way in the more complex modern world the changing ideas of thinking men make all the difference to our lives.

Each country has gone through much the same stages, though at different times. First came the Industrial Revolution, spreading from England to the Continent. In each case the change came to an unprepared country, and industrial conditions were allowed to alter themselves without any interference by the Government. This, in each case, also produced chaos, and reduced the lowest classes to a state of extreme poverty and degradation. Later history has mainly consisted in efforts to undo these evils,

efforts sometimes made by the State, sometimes by voluntary societies, sometimes by combinations of workers. This is in general outline the course of events, but every country saw its own modifications, and Germany especially, by the lateness of her Industrial Revolution, has applied State Control sooner to the problems created. For the sake of clearness we will study the changes mostly in England, though noticing always the influence of foreign thought and action.

The Industrial Revolution was accompanied by the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, or "let it alone." The idea was that things would prosper best if given free play, and that nature would cause the best to come to the top, and therefore mankind would prosper. This was partly a reaction against the strict regulation of the mercantile system, which was largely out-of-date, and so was progressive and necessary. Unfortunately it led men to be blind to the evils of the factory system as it grew up, and to do nothing to provide a remedy. Competition undoubtedly brought good and efficient men to the top, but it equally certainly meant grave injustice to a large part of the population.

Gradually both theory and practice changed with the circumstances. Men followed a thinker who taught the idea that everything should make for the greatest good of the greatest number. This was to be obtained generally by letting each person attend to his own interests in his own way. This was very much like the *laissez-faire* theory, but there was an important difference. In some cases it might be necessary for the greatest happiness of all that some should be restrained from hampering the freedom of

others. So that though these men were on the whole in favour of non-interference from the State, they yet allowed the philanthropists to pass Factory Acts.

At the same time there was a movement from below in the earliest trade unions and socialist societies. Unions were made legal, in accordance with the idea that everyone should have freedom of action, and agitated for higher wages and better conditions of life. These early trade unions were generally exclusive, being actually hostile to unskilled labour. In this period we find the desire for parliamentary representation which ended in the Chartist movement. The idealists of this time were very hopeful about the future, and often proposed wild and impossible schemes. It was the age of men like William Morris, who wrote charming books about an imaginary perfect society, but failed to have workable constructive proposals. They saw the existing evils, but missed the first steps to remove them.

The last part of the century saw great changes. The Parliamentary Vote was proved to be less good than was hoped, and many men sought other ways of gaining their ends. The great influence in this period was the German Jew, Karl Marx, who first produced a socialist theory which was based on a view of history, and was scientific in method. His interpretation of history was false, and his ideas are many of them out of date, but he founded a new socialist movement which has threatened the existing state of things much more seriously than the older type. Salvation for mankind could not be obtained by parliamentary action, he said, but by a great struggle maintained by the working-class to better

its own condition, put an end to competition, and obtain the control of industry.

While some sections of society were in desperation turning to Marx's doctrines, the general trend of thought was turning more and more from the *laissez-faire* theories, to giving greater emphasis to society as a whole, and man as part of society. By this time (about 1870), most men had votes, and felt less unwillingness to be ruled by a Government they helped to make. Instead of resenting interference by the State, they often called for it, demanding legislation on their behalf. The Trade Unions themselves became keen on political action, trying to use the State machinery for their ends. Work was done among the governing and upper classes by a society which advocated collective control of industry and nationalisation, justifying their position by work on economics. The result of this change of opinion has been an every-increasing amount of legislation and State control. The Government has not only extended the Factory Acts and established factory inspectors, but has regulated shops and workshops of all sorts, arranged for compensation for injured workmen and national insurance, taken the responsibility for unemployment and the aged poor, and, in some cases, regulated wages.

The relations between the State and the individual man have been a problem through the ages, and it seems that they always will be. Some think most can be done by the State. Some dread State control as meaning the rule of officials and possible tyranny, and look to the control of each industry being given to the workers. These say that most good has been

done by economic action in the past, and pin their faith on economic power. Some, yet again, emphasise most the need for individual action, and point to the influence in the past of great social reformers like Lord Shaftesbury. The truth seems to be that each method has its own uses, and that each has proved its value in history. For big measures, such as national insurance, State legislation is the easiest means, and provides the power necessary for carrying out the proposed reforms. At the same time the efforts of the people themselves are needed, while the action of a few individuals often first begins an idea. For instance, voluntary unions of workers have improved working conditions ; so have the efforts of individuals. Yet State action was necessary to compel the giving of a living wage to the workers in sweated industries, for these were too degraded and down-trodden to be able to act for themselves.

Economic conditions are constantly changing. To the evils of unrestricted competition has succeeded the fear of the great trusts and syndicates which overshadow industry, and threaten to overpower the workers. Classes have, unfortunately, become more clearly divided by this and other changes, and there is often great bitterness and misunderstanding between them. Often the half-educated and poverty-stricken condition of the low-paid workers is responsible for the bitterness on their side, but it is the duty of every student of history to exercise his trained judgment, see the real facts of the case, and draw sound conclusions. It is impossible to go fully into modern economic history and conditions in a sketch such as this, and the subject is dealt with in

another volume of this series (*Modern Industrial History*). It is only hoped that here enough has been shown to give some idea of modern developments, so as to bring our sketch up to date and form a basis for further study.

QUESTIONS

1. What are the problems created by the Industrial Revolution?
2. Trace the different attempts to solve these problems, noting the ideas inspiring them.
3. Find out if you can about recent social legislation.

CHAPTER XXXVI

COLONISATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CLOSELY linked with both economic ideas and nationalism is the growth of colonies and colonial policy. It was often in colonial affairs that the Governments had the clearest opportunity of expressing both their desire for trade and for national power. Therefore some reference to these affairs is necessary to our present study.

Looking rapidly back over colonial history, we can see the main lines of development. The countries that used their colonies as a source of gold and wealth, countries such as Spain, fell behind in the race. They did not trouble to build up strong colonies, but exhausted them and lessened their value. Britain at first was too lazy to interfere much, so that sturdy colonies grew up and were granted a measure of self-government. Then we got the idea of using these colonies for trading purposes, and so restricted them by Navigation Acts, taking the monopoly for ourselves. "Monopoly," Egerton says, "brought forth its fruit, and that fruit was the disruption of the British Empire." England defeated France, only to lose the American colonies.

It seemed for a time as if colonies were no use, but were bound to separate from the mother country. France, England, Spain and Holland all lost great portions of their colonies between about 1750 and 1820. Yet almost unconsciously a new British Empire was built on the ruins of the old, disproving the idea that colonies were necessarily dropping off like ripe fruit. Europe learned the lesson, and at the climax of the nationalist frenzy adopted the colonising idea as one suited for truly national States. Each country that felt the working of the spirit of the age desired then to become a world State, with valuable trade monopolies which would make for national power. Another motive was the wish to secure a way of enabling emigrants to retain their nationality, and, if need be, fight for the mother country. From 1880 onwards, then, Europe strove to acquire colonies, and keen was the competition. But before dealing with this, it would be well, as we are British citizens, to know something of the Empire that we built earlier in the century, which exercised such powerful influence.

Actual extension took place by annexations in India, and by exploration and settlement in Canada and Australia. The details of this are not so important as the new policy that was developed. To begin with, the *laissez-faire* ideas led to the abolition of Navigation Acts and regulation on behalf of the home country. Free trade was established throughout the Empire. But the humanitarian spirit that demanded factory legislation in our social life led to the modification of this *laissez-faire* theory in colonial policy also. Sierra Leone had, in the eighteenth century, been

made a place of refuge for slaves who had won their freedom and wished to return to Africa. This work was followed up in the early nineteenth century by Acts declaring first the slave trade and then slavery itself illegal in the British Empire, though this involved considerable loss. The same people took the trouble to study and plan for the backward races with whom our imperial rule brought us into contact, and the idea was helped by the work and reports of missionaries who saw the native side of problems. The change was great. Instead of colonies being for our benefit, we had in future to rule them for their good, even though it were to our disadvantage. The idea was expressed most plainly in the report in 1833 of a Parliamentary Committee dealing with Indian affairs. The report begins, "On a large view of the state of Indian legislation, and of the improvements of which it is susceptible, it is recognised as an indisputable principle, that the interests of the native subjects are to be consulted in preference to those of Europeans, whenever the two come in competition; and that therefore the laws ought to be adapted rather to the feelings and habits of the natives than to those of Europeans."

This policy meant that in India English officials studied Indian law and custom, and dared to carry out what they thought best. For instance, up to this time the native custom of burning widows on their husband's death had gone unchecked. Now it was forbidden, even though at the risk of weakening British rule. In other cases the principle worked in a more questionable way. It led to friction with the Boers in South Africa, who were often less unselfish

in their treatment of the natives. The desire to protect the natives led to annexations by the British in this colony, which were not desired by those who at the same time shirked added responsibility. This hesitating and contradictory policy was at the root of the trouble which led to the two Boer Wars, though, of course, there were other causes. In Canada and Australia the new policy led to daring experiments in the granting of self-government in face of uneducated or hostile populations. The result was that French and English in Canada settled down together in the enjoyment of their powers, and the policy has been justified. A still more striking example of this was in South Africa again, which was by the Act of Union given self-government only a short time after the end of the Boer War, in which we had been such determined enemies.

The idealist policy of the British had been successful except in South Africa, and there trouble had not developed when the European States began their hunt for colonies. So it seemed worth while to acquire colonies, and the race to acquire them became acute. The best example of this phase of colonisation is the continent of Africa, for the rest of the world was mostly appropriated already. It was not the work this time of trade and such influences gradually making themselves felt. The land was partitioned among the European Powers according to definite policy which demanded foreign lands for the sake of Europe. Especially in the case of Germany was this process undertaken as a result of national feeling. After the return of Stanley in 1878, agents of the different Powers abounded in Africa, seeking for privileges and

grants of territory for their Governments. France tried to compensate herself for the disaster of 1870 by getting power in Tunis, and Bismarck used this effort to bring her rival in North Africa, Italy, into the Triple Alliance. The period of "grab" and confusion had to be ended, so a Conference was called in 1884, and existing conditions were ratified. France had an enormous tract of land in North-West Africa, much of which was desert. Germany acquired large territories on the East and West coasts. Italy obtained some unfruitful land near the Red Sea, and Britain extended her colonies vastly.

That the British added so much to her already huge dominions was due to the fact that her influence had already made itself felt in Africa, and that her rule had, on the whole, a good name. Elsewhere the few places not appropriated before were treated in the same way as Africa. Even the United States acquired Hawaii and the Philippines, while in the Far East Japan and Russia became rivals, and German influence began to make headway. Egypt fell into a state of chaos which threatened the financial interests of her foreign creditors. France and England at first established joint control, but England was soon left in sole charge, and a series of reforms and wars against men like the Mahdi led to the assumption recently of the formal title of Protectorate.

The recent European War has among other things changed the colonial situation. German colonial administration has never been very satisfactory, and the result of the war has been to deprive her of

her colonies. A much higher ideal has been set before the world now than has been ever seen before. Colonies are definitely stated to be not sources of gain, but heavy responsibilities, and it is the supreme duty of the colonial power to govern in the interests of the inhabitants, with a careful regard for native peoples. Thus each undeveloped country is given to a European or American civilised Power which has a mandate or charge to govern it until it is fit for self-government. The traffic in drink and rifles which has demoralised so many native races is to be strictly controlled in the interests of the peoples, and the whole colonial question is put into the hands of the League of Nations. This arrangement may admit abuses, so that the citizens of every nation must watch carefully to see that the settlement is carried out with justice and understanding. It has been the privilege of the British Empire to show most clearly in her history the development of unselfish colonial policy, and this Empire is far the largest of any. Therefore on her lies the heaviest responsibility and the duty of clearing away any remnants of the spirit of pride and greed that may linger in her administration.

QUESTIONS

1. Trace the development of colonial policy in outline, and explain the modern ideal as set forth in the Peace Treaty.
2. Draw a map of Africa, noting the main physical characteristics of the different districts. Mark as clearly as you can the growth of European power in Africa.

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8. Find out about the history of Egypt in the nineteenth century, and show especially how the English came to establish a Protectorate. Find out anything you can about the problems to be faced there.

CHAPTER XXXVII

MODERN PROBLEMS

THIS book has been concerned with the history of the two main problems that face the world to-day—the social and the international problems. As the centuries passed by, these became mingled until they are now inextricable. Relations between countries have been strained and broken because of the conflict of trade interests. Now the matter goes much deeper, and the labour conditions of one country directly affect those of the others. Inventions have made it so easy to travel and to communicate ideas that the world has seemed to shrink, so that there can be no isolation. If one country tolerates low wages and a low standard of living, the cheap produce from that country may undercut the manufactures of a more advanced community, ruining trade and causing unemployment. If a big international trust is formed, all the world feels the results. No one country nowadays can be entirely self-supporting as was possible in olden times, so that friendly relations are essential in order to avoid terrible want. In the same way disorder cannot be allowed in any one country for any length of time, for the world would suffer in the

long run. This gives rise to all sorts of problems. It complicates the Russian situation that is arising from the Revolution of 1917. It explains why Russia and England are concerned in Persia, and why, if this comes into conflict with nationalist ideas, there may be trouble. There are endless instances, but any newspaper reader can supply them. The fact we wish to make clear now is that the world is very small and very much connected, so that problems become very complicated sometimes, and need all the thought and judgment of the citizens of the world Powers.

What we obviously need is a way of improving international relations and the related social conditions until there can be peace and progress, a time when the world's energies can be devoted to rooting out evil and making both society and the individual live the fullest possible life. We are not yet within sight of this state of things by any means, unfortunately, and nothing will be gained by shutting our eyes to the tremendous difficulties that lie before us; yet the student of history, seeing the wonderful story of the past, cannot be hopeless of the future, and an ideal in the distance must help to nerve the coming generations to face the task in hand.

There are two kinds of warfare in the world at present, between nations and between classes. Everyone agrees about the kind of end to be achieved,—the harmony of solidarity of all nations and all men. At the same time, there is very great difference of opinion as to the methods to be adopted to bring this about. This is not, however, a vital defect, so long as we grasp the essential features of the situation

and try to improve things. So that it is impossible here to enter into immediate problems with regard to labour, for instance. But it is possible to see how they have arisen, so that we can analyse them, and see what to avoid. It is obvious that much of the evil has risen from unrestricted competition, and more still from the ruthless spirit of rivalry that is indifferent to the sufferings caused in the struggle. We are suffering from the results of the rapid changes in industry that have taken place in the last century. We have found that protection is needed for whole classes of people, that *laissez-faire* is an impossible theory to-day when followed to any logical conclusion. So we have to strive for better conditions, by the aid of the Government or unions or voluntary effort, and to avoid the bitterness which will make impossible the better spirit that will rule society,—to strive for the co-operation that will take the place of unbridled competition.

In the same way international warfare must give place to another idea, and our studies in history point to the solution. The civilised nations have realised themselves, and are liable to assert themselves to the disadvantage of others, from which war results. The Balance of Power theory has proved very defective, and in some ways to be directly contrary to the nationalist spirit. Territory cannot be handed about any longer without any regard for the wishes of the people. Yet some power is needed above the nations, for in some cases two nationalities might claim one district. Fiume is a case in point. Also the national spirit which in its true form is patriotism sometimes degenerates into an absurd exaggeration made of

conceit and aggressive selfishness. It is an absurdity that has often had serious consequences in the past, and will again if there is no power to stop it.

The modern ideal is the League of Nations, presenting the same motive of co-operation that is necessary in industrial concerns. There have occasionally, as we have seen, been similar attempts before, but none have been quite like this. Above all, it is not an alliance of diplomatists, or of absolute monarchs ; it is a league of *free* nations. This means a real union of peoples, and frank discussion of difficulties by representatives of the nations. The atmosphere of distrust and secret diplomacy is still in existence, and is a tremendous difficulty, but it is something that at least the leaders of the nations have declared against it. Time is needed before we can see how the scheme will work in detail, but though alterations may be needed, both there and in industrial life, all will work out well if the peoples realise their work and do it. History has seen impossibilities overcome and miracles worked, it has seen dreams that men scoffed at come true. Columbus spent years trying to find a wealthy person who would listen to his conviction that he could sail round the world. The spirit of adventure made him win. The same will reconstruct our world to-day. It is a great dream, that has been shared by the great among men. Sir Thomas More dreamed, "They have indeed laid down such a scheme and foundation of policy, that as men live happily under it, so it is like to be of great continuance. . . . Among them is no unequal distribution, so that no man is poor, none in necessity. . . . They account it piety to prefer the public good

to one's private concerns." And Blake sums it all up :

“ I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.”

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TIME CHART

A.D.			
100.	} <i>Roman Empire.</i>		
200.			Teutonic tribes.
300.			
400.	410. Fall of Rome.		
	Confusion.		
500.	Empire at Constantinople.		{ Anglo-Saxon settlement of England.
600.	} <i>Franks and Northmen.</i>		
700.			
800.		Charlemagne's Empire.	{ Danish invasions.
900.	} <i>Holy Roman Empire—</i>		
		Feudalism.	
1000.		Empire and Papacy.	
1100.		Mediæval Towns	
1200.		and Gilds.	Growth of England and France.
1300.	} Break-up of Manorial System and Gilds.		
1400.			
		<i>The Renaissance.</i>	
1500.	Exploration. Mercantile system.	Balance of Power Theory.	<i>The Reformation and Counter-Reformation.</i>
1600.	Colonisation and Trade Rivalry.	Civil War in England.	Louis XIV.
1700.	Eighteenth-century Wars and Diplomacy.		<i>Enlightened Despots.</i>
	Partitions of Poland.		
1800.	} French Revolution, 1789. Napoleon.		Industrial Revolution.
		<i>Nationalism and Liberalism.</i>	Labour unrest.
1900.	Coming of Democracy and a League of Nations ?		

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